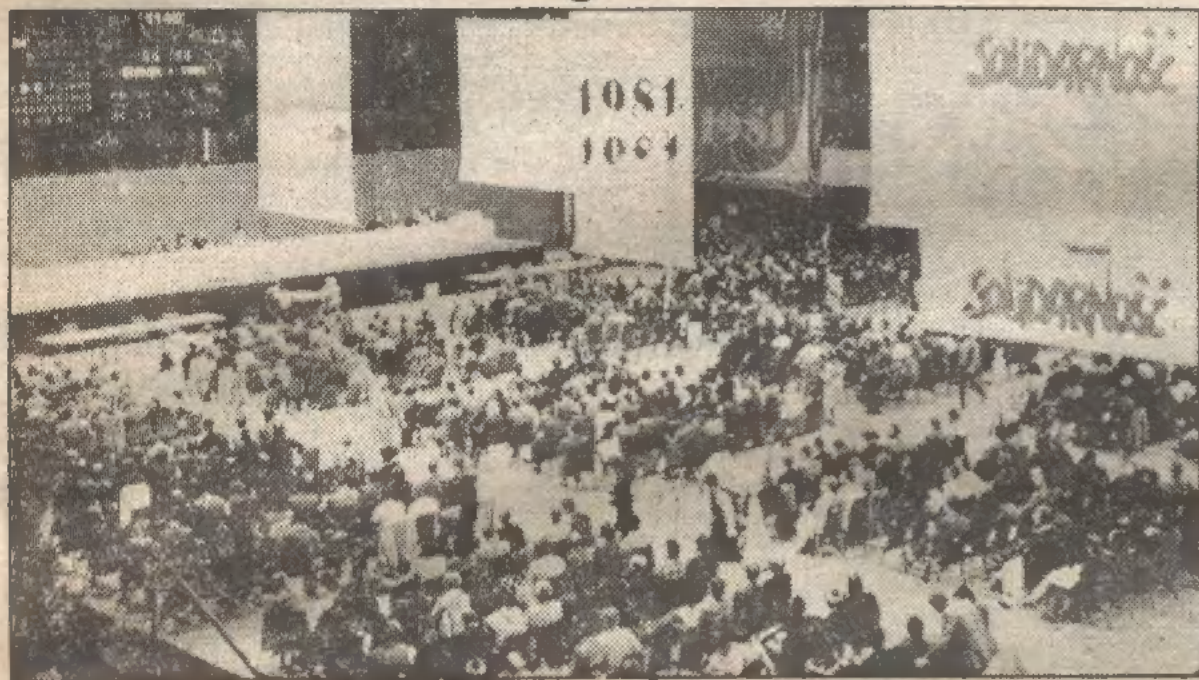


STRIKE!

50¢

Workers' Autonomy For Social Revolution

From Revolution to Reform: Solidarity's Path



Solidarity's historic first congress was marked by further retreats from the path of revolution and workers power.

By Lazarus Jones

Those who make half a revolution dig their own graves.
Henri Saint-Simon

The recently concluded two-part Solidarity congress has clearly shown that the tide of revolution in Poland is on the ebb. The strangely anti-climactic congress, despite some brave words and resolutions, reveals a substantially tamed workers' movement in full retreat.

On the eve of the first session Lech Walesa, the self-styled "little dictator," declared that: "Whatever we have achieved up to now, it has been through confrontation. We don't want any more confrontation." The 892 delegates soon proved him right when they backed down from confronting the government by rejecting a proposal from Leszek Sobieszak, a Solidarity delegate from Gdansk, that called for the removal of the clause respecting the "leading role" of the communist party from the union's constitution. Sobieszak told the congress that the clause "may have been necessary when we were beginning our fight (to establish the union) but now it's a little absurd when we are fighting most of the party's ideas."

The question of the leading role of the party had been the major sticking point in the fight to get Solidarity registered as a "legal" organization after the government's acceptance of the Gdansk Accords. At the time it was assumed that this clause had been accepted by the workers' delegates in plenary session at Gdansk. Subsequently, however, it was learned that the clause was inserted at a meeting of the respective "panels of experts" and had never been referred to the assembled delegates for ratification. The acceptance of such a clause is clearly a matter of principle requiring a decision from the workers and its reduction into a question of "expertise" to be decided by intellectuals was an early and very serious mistake on the part of the Solidarity delegates. This maneuver revealed a great deal about the role of "experts" and "leaders" within Solidarity. It also foreshadowed the even more deadly compromise on workers' self-management worked out just prior to the opening of the second session of the congress. As such it is worth describing in detail.

The following account is drawn from an interview with Jadwiga Staniszkis, one of Solidarity's experts on their negotiating team, that was re-printed in *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe* (Vol. 4, Nos. 4-6). Staniszkis explains that when it became clear that the government was willing to bargain with the insurgent workers either Walesa or one of the regional leaders suggested that "it would be a good idea to have a few specialists." This idea undoubtedly grew out of the close contact many Solidarity leaders had with mem-

bers of the Workers' Self-Defense Committees (KOR) and in light of the subsequent consequences of this importation of intellectuals into the workers' movement (both in the "leading role" controversy and the more recent compromise on workers' self-management which Jacek Kuron, a leading KOR activist, now a member of Solidarity's national executive, voted for) the role and significance of KOR should be critically evaluated.

Surreal Feelings

Staniszkis was approached and asked if he would serve on a committee of experts to meet with the government. He promptly accepted but soon began to feel rather odd in the role of "workers' expert" confronting the government experts. As he describes it:

"I had strange, surreal feelings. Since critically-minded people had had rather an ambivalent position in the Poland of the 1970s, even an official like the government planning expert Pajestka was critical to a slight degree. And even though Kowalek, Mazowiecki (Editors' note: other workers' experts) and myself were slightly more critical, all of us belonged to the same Warsaw establishment, met at the same conferences, and so on. This is why the talks went so fast. The atmosphere was very pleasant. But it was also very dangerous, creating inner loyalties (among experts on both sides) in relation to the negotiations."

This cosy atmosphere eventually led to the abolition of the twice daily plenary meetings, at which problems that arose during the negotiations were supposed to be discussed. After all, why bother the workers? The intellectuals could sort these things out among themselves. In this manner the "leading role" clause was manipulated through without a vote by the workers' delegates. This was a fatal error, as the delegates belatedly realized. The government team had demanded the insertion of the clause in order to avoid what they called an "ideological precedent." The workers did not see the question in these terms and deferred to the judgement of the intellectuals. To them Solidarity was "a pragmatic creation, fulfilling the role of technical coordination." But, as Lenin asked in critiquing the anarchosindicalist position, if the workers through their autonomous organizations organize and collectively run the economy where does that leave the party? The answer was as clear to the Polish government's negotiating team as it was to Lenin — nowhere.

As Staniszkis noted: "The government should have explained all this in advance, but it wanted to avoid doing so because this would give the workers a new way of look-

See Congresses Pg. 3

Carl Harp "Suicided"

Carl Harp was murdered by prison guards in Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla on September 5. A prison activist, opponent of sexism, and above all a revolutionary Carl's struggle for justice so threatened the police that he was brutally executed. Hung by telephone cable — wrists slashed by assassins — this contract killing is indicative of the sadistic punish-

ment prisons promote. It is a more than sufficient argument for the abolition of these 'universities of crime.'

Carl Harp knew there was a contract on his life commissioned by the guard and prisoner clique called the *Aryan Brotherhood*. He protested by means of an open letter and committed himself to protective custody. A week later he decided to transfer back to the general prison population. It was while he was housed in the tier for transferring prisoners back to the general population that Carl was slain.

As we go to press there has been no explanation of how Carl's wrists were slashed since no weapon was found. And a suicide note — supposedly penned by the victim — has been declared a fake by Carl's wife and a close friend who both saw the letter.

Never known for trying to do 'easy time' Carl Harp will be remembered for his key role in the formation of *Men Against Sexism* — which protected gay prisoners and educated others — numerous prison strikes, and as a founder of

the *Anarchist Black Dragon Collective* and its publication *The Anarchist Black Dragon* which encouraged prisoner solidarity and exposed the bankruptcy of the penal system.

Imprisoned at 23 on apparently fabricated charges of murder and rape in 1972 because the state prosecution blew its case against the real guilty party Carl Harp rapidly gained a reputation as a good jailhouse lawyer, poet, artist and supportive friend. In 1979 he and others non-violently took over the Walla Walla Classification Building and held ten prison staff hostage to publicize prison injustice. After the incident Carl was viciously beaten and raped with a riot baton by guards. After being hospitalized he was transferred to San Quentin. His assassination was almost carried out then except for the international support organized by his outside friends.

In 1980 Carl and others finally won their suit alleging that Walla Walla treatment was cruel and un-

See Harp Pg. 13

Anarchist Black Dragon!

WASHINGTON STATE PENITENTIARY



On The Inside

Revolution In Hungary

Twenty-five years ago the Hungarian Workers' Revolution shook Eastern Europe. We recall what happened and relate it to today. Page 4.

Class Struggle In Hamilton

Our resident Steelworker analyzes the more than three month long Stelco strike. Page 5.

Man Of Iron

We review Poland's famed movie *Man of Iron* and find it rusty. Page 9.

Prison Movement Reply

Ron Reed takes us to task on the prison struggle and makes a spirited defense of Carl Harp. Page 13.

Patco Strike

The defeat of the U.S. Air Traffic Controllers' strike was a victory for Reagan's anti-working class offensive. Mike Harris discusses its implications. Page 16.

STRIKE! Goes Monthly in January

With this issue we close out Volume One of NAA/STRIKE! It's been an exciting two years filled with many ups and downs, bouquets and brickbats, extravagant hopes and down-to-earth realities. Both the paper and the people who have worked and written for it have gone through many changes. And now, crazy as it might seem, we're planning another major change. Starting in January STRIKE! will be published as a 8-page monthly.

Along with this change in size and frequency we will be re-designing the paper and concentrating on shorter, snappier articles. We would like to encourage our readers to submit short news items, analysis, announcements, book and movie review, poetry etc. The maximum length of these pieces should not exceed 4 typed double-spaced pages. If longer articles are submitted we intend to be ruthless and edit them down. So the choice is yours — you can edit your own piece or we will. Most issues will also feature one or two longer articles on a theme or special event. If you have an idea for something along these lines please submit an outline will before the projected publishing date.

Also a more frequent publishing schedule will enable us to publish a Calendar section. So if you or your group are planning or know of an event that you think would be of interest to other anarchists send it in. Absolute deadline for the Calendar section will be the last day of the month preceeding publication. (i.e. deadline for the first Calendar section will be December 31).

As when we first started this project we have a lot of ideas and enthusiasm but not much in the bank. So if you've got some cash stashed away earmarked for the anarchist press how about sending some along? Or, for the more dar-



ing, how about organizing a fund-raising event in your locality? It doesn't have to be a major production. A few friends invited over for a pot-luck supper, one day a month street-selling the paper (new bulk rates will be 20¢ per copy, over 10 issues, new cover price will be 35¢), or passing the hat the next time you attend a Marxist-Leninist social function.

We hope a more frequent, topical newspaper, can be more effective in breaking down the isolated condition many anarchists find themselves in. But, we can't do it alone. We need your participation and support. Why not get involved?

Challenging the Prison Movement

The tragic and brutal murder of Carl Harp has added a further emotional gloss to an article (*A Challenge to the Prison Movement*, Vol. 1, No. 11) that we fully realized would raise a great many hackles. The assertion that the author's



remarks on Carl Harp are simply untrue is a serious one and we take full responsibility if that is the case. Our investigation of the article's authenticity was limited to mentioning the fact that we were considering publishing it to an anti-prison activist who had read it and informed us that he recognized the author from the article's style. This person bears no responsibility whatsoever for the article's subsequent appearance in STRIKE! but we assumed that since he made no specific objections that the article contained no major errors.

Speaking personally my knowledge of the crimes that Carl Harp is alleged to have committed is limited to reading a long letter on the subject from him and a partial transcript of his trial sent to an acquaintance of mine. Frankly, I found Harp's explanation of the events unconvincing. I do not have access to the primary sources that I would find indispensable in corroborating or disproving that judgement. To

those who see "inconsistency" in these feelings and our publication of Carl Harp's letters and reports on the persecution he has endured within the penal system I can only say that I hope such people are never in a position to make a final judgement on the "acceptability" of my own or my comrades' work.

A Note On Contributors

Lazarus Jones is a former member of the STRIKE! production collective presently working in Montreal. Tom Marick is a steel worker presently on strike in Hamilton, Ontario. Brian Amesly is an autoworker in St. Catharines. M. Archibald works as a printer in Edmonton, Alberta. Mike Harris is employed in the needle trades in New York City. H.R. Olson is an Australian academic. Arthur Miller is a pipe-fitter presently employed in New Orleans. B. Newbold is a pseudonym, and that's all he wrote. Ron Reed is an anti-prison activist based in Montreal.

Please Note New Address

STRIKE!
P.O. Box 284,
Main Station,
St. Catharines,
Ontario, Canada
L2R 6T8

For anyone wishing to contact our group in Toronto their new address is: P.O. Box 571, Station P, Toronto, Ontario.

LETTERS TO STRIKE!

TELLING THE TRUTH

Dear Strike,

I would like to share a personal experience with your readers that I believe confirms the views of the writers of "A Challenge to the Prison Movement" (Strike, Aug. - Sept.).

Some years ago, when I still lived in Oakland, I received a telephone call from a woman who knew an old comrade from New Orleans. She and her sister needed a place to crash until their car could be repaired for their drive back east.

When they arrived at my apartment, I heard a story so amazing that I only half-believed it at the time (this was before Jonestown).

The younger of the two women had been, essentially, rescued from a San Francisco collective run by an ex-convict turned political hustler. It appears that this asshole had recreated the conditions of a prison block inside a poor neighborhood apartment building. (For example? Well, the doors had been removed from all the bedrooms and bathrooms because privacy is a "Bourgeois notion"; it's also something that prisoners never have.)

The younger woman described an atmosphere of fear and intimidation that had not yet degenerated into violence and murder. But, sure enough, a couple of years later several of the members of this collective were arrested in connection with the murder of another woman

member. The disposition of this case is unknown to me.

The wisely anonymous authors of "A Challenge to the Prison Movement" can expect a lot of flack for the bold expression of their views, especially in the aftermath of the murder of Carl Harp. As for me, I applaud their courage and integrity, qualities as rare in the anarchist movement as anywhere else. Likewise, the editors of Strike demonstrated their integrity by printing the piece even when they disagreed with it (most "anarchist" publications are as well known by what they won't print as by what they will).

It is not enough to tell the truth about this or that ruling class rat. All parts of class society must be exposed for what they really are — including us. We are, after all, also a part of the social order. When we can learn to be honest with ourselves, perhaps then there will be hope.

Comradely,
Frank Stevens

RELEVANT ISSUES

Hi Strike Folks,

The enclosed letters were written in response to the article criticizing the prisoner support movement which you published a short-while ago. Here in Seattle, we have been having lengthy discussions of the article, and the issues which it raises, and the letters written by

myself and Dave Brown both reflect those discussions and ideas raised by a number of folks involved in them. We all think that the issues raised by the article, (referred to as the anonymous article), are relevant, despite problems we see with the article itself, and we sincerely hope that the recent death of Carl Harp will not put an end to the discussion. We should not allow the state's dastardly treatment of Harp or the article's unfair and distorted treatment of him, to quash a necessary critical examination of the problems of the prisoner support movement. For this reason I am sending these letters with the hope that you will publish them, and thereby help to continue and broaden the discussion.

Yours for a new world,
Sylvie Kashdan

STRIKE! Reply: We received these letters of endorsement but have not reprinted them due to reasons of space and our giving priority to Ron Reed's article. If our readers would like to read them we suggest writing to Sylvie c/o Charlatan Stew, P.O. Box 31461, Wallingford Station, Seattle, Wa. 98103

DESERVES ISOLATION

Dear Strike!

I appreciated your publishing "A Challenge to the Prison Movement." It's the kind of criticism we need to keep from falling into the usual unthinking "Solidarity" rut that characterizes Stalinism, as well as the idealistic romanticism the authors talk about. Yes, "prisons represent the capitalist response to overwhelmingly capitalist-produced problems," as you say in your introduction. Prisons are one of the essential products of capitalism, in fact. But we have to recognize that the criminal is another

product of capitalism, and this poses a problem for us.

The criminal is not simply a person victimized by the system, who would naturally become a social revolutionary if given the chance or who would naturally fit in to a revolutionary society. There is such a thing as a criminal mentality, a totally exploitative amorality that characterizes rapists, armed robbers who kill, and extortionists (also many politicians, soldiers, and business executives). This mentality is as much a product of capitalism as automobiles, deodorant, and air pollution. That means it's a real and enduring thing with real and enduring effects, not just a social mistake or nightmare, curable by exposure to revolutionary ideas or even by revolution itself.

Ironically, I read your review of Carl Harp's book (glowing, as "Challenge" predicted) before I read the article, and was myself affected with the naive, uncritical acceptance that the article attacks. After finding out what Harp is in prison for, I don't give a damn how much of an anarchist he claims to be. That kind of sadism (armed rape, the sniper shootings) deserves isolation from society.

Perhaps the line to be drawn here is between political and property crime on the one hand, and violent crime or the other. I would not call

the police or otherwise take revenge on someone who broke into my house and stole my stereo. But I'd kill someone who threatened my physical safety or that of someone I love. There's no way you can say economic privation and social inequity drove Carl Harp to rape two women at gunpoint and gun down two innocent people in a shooting spree.

The only way I'd be willing to see Carl Harp at large in society again would be if he could show an understanding of his antisocial acts and a willingness to somehow make up for them in constructive social work. He should also be a convinced and enthusiastic supporter of feminism, obviously.

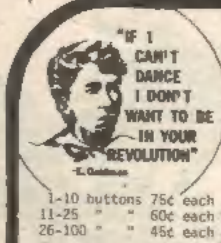
"Love and Rage" (to quote Carl Harp)
Chris Neilson



See More Letters Pg. 14

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 7. BAKUNIN AT WORK
 8. IF I CAN'T DANCE

- portraits...
- 12 Pa Chin
 - 13 Nestor Makhno
 - 14 Louise Michel
 - 15 Lucy Parsons
 - 16 Albert Parsons
 - 17 Bakunin
 - 18 Emma Goldman
 - 19 Kropotkin

France: Towards Socialism?

By Mike Harris

The recent election of Francois Mitterand as President of France represents the first major national electoral victory for the French left since the beginning of the Cold War in 1947.

Mitterand is a socialist — at least in name.

But how real are the prospects for fundamental change resulting from the election?

Even more importantly, what are the chances for real socialism and workers' self-management to gain control anywhere by way of a peaceful election?

Can capitalism be overthrown a little at a time by the gradual nationalization of one firm after another, as Mitterand intends to do in France?

Mitterand is a big-time politician and has been for a long time. He served as a government minister on eleven different occasions under the Fourth Republic. Throughout his political career, he has proved himself to be a loyal agent of the French bourgeoisie and French imperialism.

When the Algerian independence struggle began in 1954, Mitterand was the Minister of the Interior. He organized the French riot police to suppress the uprising.

Mitterand was a staunch supporter of French repression in Algeria, insisting from the beginning that independence was out of the question.

"The only negotiation is war," he told the National Assembly. "We want the Algerian people to be more and more integrated into the French nation, and it's because we cannot allow it to be separated that we are having recourse to force."

Mitterand was also responsible for the banning of Bastille Day celebrations by the Communist Party.

The bourgeoisie surely know which side the new President is on.

Even if Mitterand is no revolutionary socialist — and he clearly isn't — why do we think socialism (that is free socialism, socialism from below) can't come through electoral means under any circumstances?

Some people on the left believe that it might be possible for social-



ists to win enough popular support to gain control of traditional political institutions and by that means change the existing state — the government bureaucracy, the "justice" system, the police, the military — to enforce laws that would curtail the power of the ruling class.

This point of view is what is meant by the term "reformism", and it is the position of many who have hailed Mitterand's victory as

an immense gain for the working class. But in the past, every attempt to establish socialism through that process has failed.

In Chile in 1970, the socialist Salvador Allende was elected president. Three years later the generals who had been invited to join the government overthrew Allende and brutally destroyed the working class movement.

While socialists who govern still-capitalist countries are gradually introducing "socialism", economic power remains in the hands of the capitalists.

Once the socialist politician really threatens the power of capitalism, the bourgeoisie forces a change in government. The ultimate power in capitalism resides not in government but in capital itself.

Another reason capitalism cannot be reformed into socialism of any kind, let alone free and self-managed socialism, is that the machinery of the state is not neutral but designed from top to bottom to preserve capital.

The state — which is a bureau of capital — controls the major means

of violence and repression.

During the last five years, unemployment has doubled in France. Inflation runs at 14%.

As the crisis of world capitalism deepens, Mitterand will be forced to choose between managing the crisis for capital or withholding the state's repressive apparatus from crushing an insurgent working class struggle.

There is certainly nothing in his party's past to suggest that he will opt for workers' self-management — the fundamental basis for socialism.



A Tale of two Congresses

Continued from Pg. 1

ing at power. Instead, they used the intellectuals, and we immediately understood what all this meant. They wanted to use the experts and the workers' trust in the experts as a means of introducing this formula."

It was only at the final session when Jagielski, the head of the government team, paraphrased this point and spoke of how much it meant to him, how happy he was

how 'liberalised' in the manner of the intelligentsia." Staniszkis also refutes the argument that without the experts the workers might have been hoodwinked or led into traps. The workers decided, after point one on the "leading role" of the party had already been signed, to do the final negotiations on all the other points themselves. They had a nagging suspicion, soon proven correct as noted above, that the "leading role" formula should not

ther bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course — for mankind has not created a 'third' ideology, and in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or an above-class ideology... But the spontaneous development of the working class movement leads to its subordination to bourgeois ideology... trade-unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie. Hence our task, the task of social-democracy, is to combat spontaneity." (Works, Vol. 5, Pg. 384)

When the hacks in the Kremlin start foaming at the mouth and railing against "counter-revolution" in Poland they are not simply expressing the interests of an entrenched ruling class nervous about the prospects of retaining their privileges and positions. They are also re-stating classic Leninist thought on the significance of the autonomous struggles of the working class. Since the working class "exclusively by its own efforts" cannot attain socialist consciousness any spontaneous workers' movement is by definition "bourgeois" as there is no "third ideology". To a Leninist a workers' movement is only a "real" workers' movement if it is subordinated to a socialist (i.e. Leninist) party. A revolutionary movement is defined not by being a movement of workers but by possessing the "correct" ideology, i.e. the Marxist one, which is 'proletarian' by definition.

This is the rationale by which the Leninists have justified their butchery of workers from Kronstadt to Gdansk. It will be the rationale used when either the Kremlin or the Polish leadership move decisively against Solidarity.

Wait and Watch

For now they are content to wait and watch the movement degenerate into a bureaucratic, centralized shell that will gradually lose the allegiance of the Polish working class. Revolutionary militance, as the party well knows, cannot be turned on and off like a water faucet. A revolutionary movement must swiftly and decisively triumph over all its opponents if it is not to wither and die. This degenerative

process is already far advanced within Solidarity as the recent compromise on workers' self-management showed.

At a meeting of Solidarity's National Executive, attended by only four of its eleven members, the Executive agreed that in all enterprises deemed "strategic" the Polish authorities will have the right to appoint the managers. If the employees object to the appointments they can "challenge" them in court. It is more than ironic that an almost identical "compromise" was used to smash the workers' factory councils in Russia after the revolution. As the Polish working class will doubtless soon discover "strategic" industries and enterprises can include almost anything you care to imagine.



Kania: His ouster strengthens the military as the party faces perpetual work-militance.

When the details of the "compromise" were revealed at the second session of the congress there was an uproar. Over 40 delegates stepped up to the microphones to denounce the leadership for their handling of the situation. A perceptive delegate from Warsaw, Seweryn Jaworski, said the compromise ultimately favoured the government: "We wanted to break the neck of the system, but we've only managed to twist it." Jan Rulewski, who challenged Walesa for the chairmanship of Solidarity, was unequivocal in his condemnation of the action: "This union was not created to make compromises, but to smash the totalitarian system in our country."

Walesa Wins

He was wildly applauded but when the votes were counted he had managed to attract only 6 per cent of the vote. Walesa, who declared that he does "not intend to risk everything Solidarity has achieved up till now for the sake of naming 10 directors," was swept to victory with 55 per cent of the vote in a four man race. Bearing this in mind Solidarity's declarations on supporting free trade unions elsewhere in Eastern Europe should perhaps be taken with a large grain of salt. The North American pattern of militant rhetoric and servile practice appears to be gaining an ever firmer foothold in Solidarity.

As Andrzej Gwiazda, another unsuccessful challenger for the Solidarity leadership put it, "I think our leaders use a different kind of language now. It's a language understood by the authorities, but not by the rank and file. They are no longer talking to the grass roots."

And so it goes. A movement that at one time could have shaken off the parasitical Polish bureaucracy with one shrug of its shoulders is pushed back, little by little, until all that remains is the form but not the content of revolution. Yet even if Solidarity becomes a feeble travesty of its former self it will still be an insufferable boil on the Leninist body politic. Sooner or later the bureaucracy will feel confident enough to lance it but, when that decision is implemented, the Polish authorities will once more be confronted by a working class that knows the power it holds in its hands. It will be confronted by a working class finally and irrevocably aware that to survive the revolution must triumph or die. When that moment arrives we may yet see such an explosion of workers' power that capitalists and commissars around the world will be blown from their thrones and the muck and mire of ages of oppression will finally be swept from the face of the globe.

* Labour Focus on Eastern Europe is available from: Box 23, 136 Kingland High St., London E8, England. Surface subscriptions are £5.50 a year, airmail is £8.00.



that the Solidarity team had given their approval to his party, and so on, that the workers realized the implications of the clause on the party's "leading role." Even Walesa was upset and declared that the only chance of reversing this point would be if the central committee refused to accept the Gdansk agreement as a whole. But, the following Saturday afternoon, the party leadership accepted the agreement.

Intellectuals

In Staniszkis' view the impact of the intellectuals on the negotiating process was almost wholly negative: "It led to a packaging of their (the workers') demands, but it also distorted the authentic expression of the movement. They were really so much against the system that they didn't even want to touch it. And that was distorted. They were some-

have been adopted. They proved to be extremely adept winning more radical concessions than the intellectuals on all points except point 8 (wages). As Staniszkis notes: "They were very skilful and did it all without the experts."

The implications for Solidarity, however, of bowing to the judgement of the intellectuals in accepting the "leading role" of the party are profound. By only going halfway, by challenging but not destroying the party, Solidarity has sown the seeds of its own eventual destruction. Neither the Soviets nor the Polish party leadership will tolerate Solidarity's existence for one second longer than absolutely necessary. The reasons for this are not difficult to ascertain. They lie in the very heart of Leninist dogma. Lenin stated them explicitly and succinctly when he wrote:

"Since there can be no question of an independent ideology formulated by the working masses themselves in the process of their movement, the only choice is — ei-

25th Anniversary

The Hungarian Revolution

By: Brian Amesly

This autumn marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of two of the most inspiring yet tragic events in the recent history of the international workers' movement. One was the October 1956 revolt in Poland which swept away orthodox Stalinist rule only to be defused and then smashed by Gomulka's "national communism".

The other more radical event was the workers' revolution in Hungary. This insurrection not only did a great deal to explode the myth of the "workers' states" in Eastern Europe but also demonstrated the capacity of the working class to transform society through autonomous organs of workers' power.

Given these characteristics alone the Hungarian Revolution offer critical insights into the nature of social revolution in contemporary society. However, in view of the situation in eastern Europe today its historical significance has never been greater.

To begin with, the situation which gave birth to the 1956 events in Hungary was largely defined outside of its borders. Foremost among the causes was the death of Stalin and the partial dismantlement of his all-pervasive terror apparatus throughout most of Eastern Europe. Also important was the June 1953 revolt by 300,000 workers in East Berlin; the first massive worker revolt against Stalinism in the region. Then there was the June 1956 Poznan workers' uprising in Poland which paved the way for the October events.

The resistance in Hungary preceded the Poznan uprising by two months. However, unlike in Poland, it was not initiated by the working class. Rather, popular pressure for change began with the formation of the Petofi Circle in Budapest by young, reform-minded communists and members of the officially sanctioned Writers' Union. Naturally enough, this grouping raised demands for greater literary freedom and a Hungarian approach to communism.

The Petofi Circle met with enormous success. During the summer of 1956 the number of people who were attracted by its activities grew into the thousands. By September this popular groundswell resulted in it openly calling for freedom of speech. In addition to this worker discontent became evident with demands being raised for a democratization of the official trade unions.

Polish Connection

Meanwhile trials got underway in Poland of workers who had been involved in the Poznan uprising. In response to this the Petofi Circle decided to call a demonstration for October 23 in Budapest to express



In 1956 Hungary's workers achieved a lot more than trade union consciousness. No thanks to Lenin, mind you.

solidarity with the Polish workers on trial.

The response was massive. Some 50,000 people took to the streets, most of whom were young. As the day progressed the crowd grew to an estimated 100,000 with many workers there.

The situation exploded in the evening when members of the Secret Police (AVO) opened fire on the

unarmed demonstrators leaving many dead. In response large numbers of workers and students began arming themselves. The revolution was on.

In the midst of this the ruling Communist Party found itself isolated and on the defensive. In desperation it purged its leadership and placed a "national communist" leadership headed by Kadar in command. The party also tried to appease the

population with promises of sweeping democratic reforms and changes in the official trade unions. But at the same time it kept its other option open and shortly thereafter requested Soviet intervention to deal with the 'counter-revolution' engulfing Hungary.

Workers' Councils

None of these actions did anything to prevent the growing insurrection. In fact the revolt was getting more dangerous than ever, in large part because the workers were creating revolutionary councils. Through these councils workers in Budapest successfully initiated a call for a general strike which soon took hold throughout the city and facilitated the growth of the workers' councils movement across Hungary. The workers then showed their ability to organize on a national scale by proceeding to federate their councils. Critically this was accomplished through their own actions indicating their power to transform society through their own self-activity.

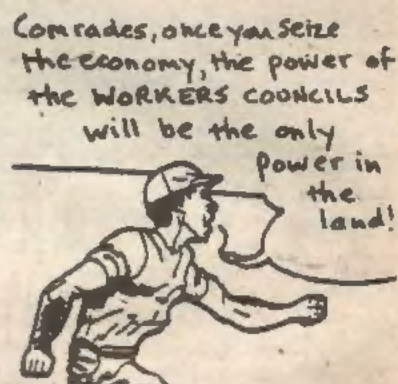
The revolution was not confined to the cities. In the countryside farmworkers and peasants united with the workers by organizing the delivery of food to the rebels in the cities. Furthermore, on many state farms workers ousted the managers, then, either redistributed the land they seized or assumed genuine collective management of production.

Despite the breadth of this revolutionary upsurge and the heroic actions of its participants the people in arms were no match for the Soviet invaders who bloodily suppressed the revo-

lution. Thousands were killed and many more had to flee the country. Nonetheless popular resistance continued well into 1957. But it was futile. The Soviet counter-revolution was already victorious.

This defeat together with Gomulka's silencing of the Polish workers restored "normalcy" to Eastern Europe. Soviet enforced stability prevailed until 1968 when Czechoslovakia became the focus of struggle followed by Poland from 1970 onwards.

Therein lies the special significance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. It recalls a high point in the very same struggle which continues today. Therefore it is crucial to understanding the present situation. Furthermore, the revolution's deeply radical thrust is a reminder of what is necessary to achieve workers' power in Eastern Europe.



VINYL CHLORIDE

by M. Archibald

On August 27, 1981, a train derailment near Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, released the contents of two tank cars of vinyl chloride monomer. The deadly VC gas came from a Dow Chemical processing complex at Fort Saskatchewan, Alberta, near Edmonton, and the incident was only the latest in a series of mishaps associated with the ill-fated plant.

The most spectacular event occurred May 27, 1981, when an explosion destroyed the plant's control centre, injuring five workers and causing a temporary shut-down of the \$95 million facility.

In the aftermath of the explosion it was revealed the Dow plant had violated Alberta's lax emission standards for VC no less than 357 times in less than two years of operation. A nearby Diamond Shamrock plant had exceeded the VC emission standard 83 times in a seven month period. These figures must be considered low as the provincial authorities allow the companies to carry out their own monitoring.

Vinyl chloride is a petrochemical which can be polymerized to make PVC, the basis of a whole plastics manufacturing industry. It has been

known for at least 10 years that VC causes birth defects and various types of cancer. The carcinogenic properties of VC have been studied through lab experiments as well as surveys of workers in VC plants and residents of communities near VC plants.

The Alberta emission standard for VC is 5 parts per million which compares with a 1 ppm standard in most other provinces or countries with VC plants and 0.2 ppm standard at a Dow plant in Sarnia, Ontario.

The Fort Saskatchewan emissions have been known to exceed the standard by as much as a factor of 100. Nevertheless the government declines to prosecute the companies.

Rather than clean up its act Dow responded to public criticism by buying full page ads in the Edmonton newspapers to attack "alarmist pronouncements" and extol the virtues of VC. Dow's arguments in favour of VC included the assertion that breathing the toxic gas is safer than smoking cigarettes as well as the suggestion that laboratory animals are more sensitive to VC than humans. Dow did admit VC causes angiosarcoma, a "rare" liver cancer.

Indeed angiosarcoma may be rare today but perhaps only because cancers induced by VC have a long latency period. In this connection one can only cite the now famous statement by Samuel Epstein (*The Politics of Cancer*) that there has never been evidence "of any safe exposure level for VC, or indeed of any other carcinogen." The VC complexes at Fort Saskatchewan are part of the Alberta government's vaunted attempt to build a petrochemical industry in the province. But in order to attract the handful of multinationals which dominate that industry, the province has literally mortgaged the lives of its citizens.



"Don't worry. There's no danger until we finish the medical research."

New Tactics for CUPE?

The recently completed biennial convention of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) held in Winnipeg proved to be a small landmark for the trade union movement in Canada. In the face of an onslaught against the right to strike in the public sector and the failure of traditional strike tactics to meet its militants at the gathering came out in favour of some fresh new approaches to workplace struggles.

The use of administrative or social strikes was the most innovative. These strikes involve locking out management, taking control of production and refusing to charge customers either the fees or taxes normally used to pay for the services provided. There can be no doubt that the inspiration for the idea came from the administrative strike at B.C. Telephone earlier this year and from the successful use of the tactic in Europe.

Another proposal raised was the use of multi-employer strikes. In and of itself this strategy has the advantage of broadening active class unity. However it could be particularly successful given the employment of administrative strikes and a concerted effort to win public support.

But the critical question remains as to whether these fresh approaches to workers' struggles will actually be put into practice. Other developments give reason for skepticism.

For one thing there was the outcome of the debate over what response there should be given a return to wage controls. Demands from CUPE militants for a general strike were defeated. Instead the national executive prevailed and the majority of the delegates opted for ineffective tactics such as marches on Ottawa. Past struggles have shown the pitiful impotence of these rituals with their main ac-

complishment being a defusing of worker militance. CUPE's leadership undoubtedly realizes this.

Elsewhere the convention did not result in the removal of Grace Hartman and her ilk from the union's leadership. While a change of faces at the top cannot alter the general orientation of any union the fact that Hartman, who sat on her hands during last winter's hospital strike in Ontario, still leads the union is a bad omen for the future. So too is the failure of the convention to make a clean break from the New Democratic Party whose record in power and in opposition merits such action.

Despite these things, the open discussion of tactics like administrative strikes still represents a positive development. Given the certainty of more repression against public sector workers there is ample reason to believe mere talk will of necessity be translated into direct action.

It's Steelworker Time!

By Tom Marick

The rhythm of social disruption is on the upswing worldwide. The Canadian status-quo has not been immune to these shock-waves. Nowhere is this more evident than on the industrial front. One of the most striking examples to date is the shut-down of production at Hamilton's giant steel producer — Stelco.

Journalists are calling 1981 the year of the strike. If the strike at Stelco holds out much longer this will be a record year for time lost to labour disputes. The stakes are high for both labour and capital.

A successful strike at Stelco could be the key to organizing Dofasco — another Hamilton steel producer with about 10,000 workers. The strike also sets the pattern for negotiations throughout many other areas of the economy.

Company and government officials are well aware of this too. Some speculate that it is this fear of a 'chain effect' from the current struggle which is causing the government to pressure the company not to settle.

The present dispute at Stelco opened with a bang. After 12 years of passivity the massive local seemed prepared for a long hard battle to recoup losses and make some significant gains. We were angry. (Strike No. 1, pg. 16)

Only days before the strike did it become obvious that all was not well at the negotiating table. But long before this the writing was on the wall. Graffiti throughout the plant called for a walk-out. 'Fun in the sun — Strike in '81' was the dominant slogan.

The week before the strike Stelco launched its propaganda campaign for a smooth settlement. Although the company has consistently claimed they cannot provide us with written notice of shift changes they still managed to hand deliver their offer to the home of every union member. They costed union proposals for a contract at more than \$14 per hour. But to get that figure they had to exaggerate. They believe that one more holiday would be worth 50¢ an hour. That's ridiculous. When is the last time any one got paid over \$900 for a day's work at Stelco. However what is even more important than the different details of their letter is the fact that the company began to try and make up our minds for us by this intervention. It didn't do them any good though.

On July 29, over 8,000 workers from Stelco discussed the company's offer at Ivor Wynne Stadium in Hamilton. Given a 91.4% increase in the second-quarter company profits over the same period in 1980 their wage offer of \$1.15



Stelco wives' support demonstration wound through Hamilton's industrial drive.

increase over three years was laughed out of the stadium. It was apparent many workers were ready to shut down the plants. But the executive didn't trust us.

The next day a leaflet was issued by the executive urging us to reject the company offer. A significant number of workers were angered at this attempt to cajole us. No one likes to be told what to do.

But this mistake was not critical as on July 31 workers rejected the contract. Over 86 per cent of the union called for a strike.

Silence descended inside the plant at midnight the same day. Outside the gates thousands of workers shouted "out, out" as night-shift filtered from the plant. The gates were padlocked by the union and the company while the crowd cheered, honked horns and enjoyed a few frosty ones. Children and even long retired Stelco employees joined in the celebration. Moreover 9,500 workers at Algoma Steel in Wawa and Sault Ste. Marie and 4000 workers at Quebec Stelco plants, Lake Erie Works and eight Stelco Finishing plants in Ontario struck their employer that evening.

Workers in Hamilton moved swiftly to build picket lines around Stelco and control access to the plants. Flying pickets were also dispatched to a nearby Samuel and Son warehouse to stop the shipment of Stelco steel. A train carrying Stelco steel was stopped by a spontaneous picket line of cars on a Barton Street rail crossing. Somehow the train's airbrakes then failed and the steel shipment derailed. Re-

scissorbills. But that's the way you learn the value of independent judgement I suppose.

The same day workers at Algoma were being sold down the river by the 'improvers' of humanity, employees at Stelco in Hamilton were treated to an example of what breathes life into the vision of socialism. As a scab at Hilton Works was trying to drive his vehicle through a picket line one worker dynamized by our collective strike action whipped out a length of chain and smashed it down onto the car. Countless other acts of the class war, which all socialists profess to agree with, could be pointed out but what makes this incident stand out in sharp relief is the posture of many strikers about their responsibility to this brother. The union has refused to pay the fines this worker incurred or fight for his job. Have we forgotten our socialist principles? Some say this unionist is being thrown to the wolves because he's a hard-case. Still that doesn't justify making him a scape-goat for our collective fight with Mr. Moneybags.

Part of that fight has been the development of a newsletter called the **Striker**. The two page bulletin distributed at the union hall and on the picket lines details coming activities, needs and contributions for the union. Other means of keeping the strike sold have included a Bar B.Q. in the company parking lot and a picnic in a local park. We have convinced many businesses to donate goods and services to support the strike. As well the Stelco Credit Union has declared a loan and mortgage moratorium for the duration of the shutdown.

However Fatco has not stood idly by while the union consolidates its

was just about the same time Stew Cooke joined his Tory friends in a new government job. Our local president, Cec Taylor, reasoned that this scissorbill was being paid off for his services to the ruling class.

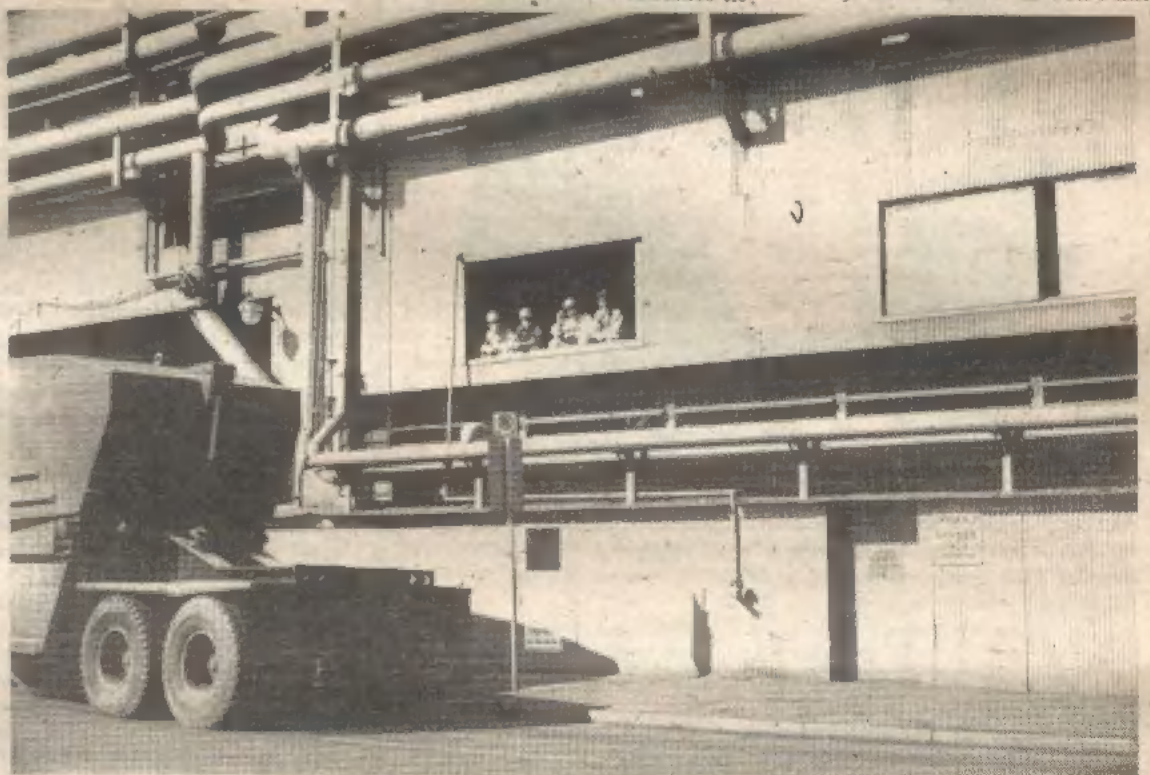
Meanwhile word was reaching the picket lines that in Etobicoke, Irwin Toys had been strike-bound since June 17th. But the company was hiring scabs and strike-breakers to stop the picket action by 104 unionists. This was a first contract situation where the predominantly female union, earning minimum wage, was engaging against a multi-billion dollar anti-union employer. So our union decided to provide transport for any worker at Stelco to help picket Irwin Toy.

About 100 of us began making weekly trips to the scab company to stop production. The police tried to break our lines of course. They arrested picketers and even charged Dave Patterson, the director of district 6 USWA, with assaulting a police officer. But we were able still to disrupt the company's work. And by the end of September an area support movement was beginning to emerge.

Labour Day activity was a shot in the arm for many strikers too. While a half million workers protested hard times imposed by the state in the U.S. at Washington, we gathered with the area labour movement and reaffirmed our commitment to smash capital's latest anti-labour offensive. Later that day when a number of us met at the Polish Legion Hall to relax John Munro, a federal cabinet minister from Hamilton East, tried to join our social. He was summarily thrown out of the hall by a large variety of unionists who don't like

sponse from the police was immediate. The company used them to gather phoney evidence for a court injunction. They charged our lines at one point saying we were obstructing traffic. And another time a bus load of police were stationed near a picket line to try to stop us from preventing scabs' entrance to the plant. Fearing strong reaction from the strikers the company finally removed its police to a safer vantage point and stopped pressing for a court injunction to limit picketing.

While we were building the strike, United Steelworkers of Am-



Employees of non-union Dominion Foundries and Steel Co. have generously supported the strike. But will they organize?

Heritage Farce

by M. Archibald

The mindless tranquillity of Edmonton's August Heritage Festival was shattered by a political uproar. Polish and Chilean representatives were banned from the annual event in the Alberta capital for introducing radical propaganda into their displays. The Poles had the audacity to erect a banner bearing the Solidarity logo while the Chileans defied official instructions in exhibiting photographs of political prisoners who have vanished under the Pinochet regime.

Outraged festival organizers charged the two groups had violated a rule which bans political, religious, or nationalistic features from the event, which attracted 42 national groups and 250,000 spectators.

According to one official, "It's

(the Festival) not for politics, it's to show the history, the dancing, the costumes of the country." A Polish spokesman noted Solidarity is a trade union, not a political group. "To the Russians it's political, but not to us." A Chilean commented, "If we just show happy dancing and food it's a lie about our country."

The Chileans pointed out that the Festival had broken its own rules by using Tory politicians Joe Clark and Doug Roche as greeters and by allowing a Muslim display.

This heavy handed attempt to divorce politics from culture is a common occurrence in officially sponsored cultural events in Alberta. As one observer remarked, in a couple of years the Festival will be reduced to a handful of Wasps sipping tea in an empty park.

erica (USWA) bureaucrats were trying to tear it down. The Algoma Steel leadership made up predominantly of business unionists like Jack Ostroski with the help of ex-director Stew Cooke and his scissorbills pushed for a settlement. They sold the contract as the best in the industry.

On August 7th, 58 per cent of the Algoma workers voted for a contract which provided for only a \$1.30 wage increase over three years. Minimal vacation and pension improvements were included in the agreement but they are insignificant. For example, the pensions aren't indexed to the cost-of-living.

So workers in Algoma were railroaded into voting for virtually the same contract they rejected seven days earlier by the smooth talking

resources. The company cancelled all medical and life insurance coverage to strikers and pensioners even though the latter have no voice in the union. Moreover the company accelerated efforts to break the strike by separate bargaining with its Lake Erie Works and finishing plants. These efforts backfired and actually helped workers close ranks against Stelco. Ninety per cent of Stelco employees remained on strike. And two Hamilton Finishing plants joined our bargaining committee. As well the employer's callousness towards the sick and elderly swung many workers in the city to our side.

On September 4th the workers at Stelco basic steel plants in Edmonton, Alberta, joined our strike bringing half a thousand more workers onto the picket lines. This

to mix with the henchmen of the ruling class.

On September 17th the union and Stelco were summoned to Toronto by the provincial government to review their bargaining positions. The company refused to begin negotiations once again. They said they didn't want us to have certain people on our negotiating team. The union said it was up to us to select our delegates. But the company said it wouldn't bargain until we agreed to make separate agreements for Stelco employees at the finishing works and kicked their negotiators off our committee. It looked like the beginning of a long strike.

With that in mind the union has sponsored the creation of a wives' committee to broaden support for

BREAD & ROSES

Take Back The Night!

A woman enjoying a walk down the street alone notices that she will soon have to pass a group of men. The feelings that she will experience in the next little while are familiar to every woman in this society. A feeling of dread will wash over her. The constricting throat muscles, the fluttering of her stomach and the glassy stare she assumes to indicate she does not notice, all serve to remind her of her place in society.

After the encounter, waves of relief may wash over her. Nothing happened. However, she is far too likely to be washed over with feelings of humiliation, embarrassment, shame, helplessness and rage. Far too often she is physically violated as well as verbally abused.

The later in the day, the more a woman will dread passing men on the street. When night falls, harassment becomes the rule of the street.

Street harassment is not a compliment to a woman! It is a form of abuse. These encounters are not just minor irritations. They are a violation of our human rights.

For many women, the fear of walking down the streets alone manifests itself as problems and illnesses that affect a woman's ability to enjoy a full and normal life. Depression and paranoia may result. Many women suffer from agoraphobia, the housewife's disease, unable to go anywhere without their husbands or a member of their family at their side. Sometimes, even the husband's presence does not reassure these women. Their homes become their sanctuary and prison. The pain these women experience is a severe form of that feeling every woman experiences as she walks down the street.

Rape, assault, harassment, lewd comments, ogling, staring, threats; to women these things are everyday occurrences, no woman escapes the misogynist's power display. We are victimized on the street while alone or with other women but never when we are with a man.

To show that women no longer accept the situation, marches were held across the continent on September 18th. The marches were a demonstration of our collective strength. We marched alone, not with men, to show that we will no longer be kept at the side of a man to be safe. Traditionally, women fear the night for it is believed that rapists come out only at night to



do their vicious deeds. To demonstrate our determination to destroy the threat of male violence against us we marched at the time considered most dangerous for us — nighttime.

The lights and candles that we carried lit our way and symbolized our safety. We lit our faces to show that we are not afraid. The light eliminated the darkness just as we hope to eliminate the threat that keeps us down in everyday existence.

Because the threat of being harassed, assaulted and insulted is so real to all women participation in the marches was very high. For many women, this was the first mass action they have ever participated in.

Women of all ages, occupations and lifestyles joined together to protest the injustices of this patriarchal society.

The marchers did not forget that many of the rapes and other acts of violence directed at women occur in the supposed safety of the women's homes by people known to the victim. Rape crisis groups and battered wives' centres used the publicity generated by the march as a forum to educate people about the horrors occurring behind closed doors and what can be done about it. Leaflets handed out to women on the streets (of which there were very few, not surprisingly) explained the services they offer and directed women in need of help where to go.

A "Take Back the Night" march is an effective weapon that can be used to fight a patriarchal society. The drama of the march generates publicity and therefore serves three major purposes. It has a mobilizing effect on women. It brings women out of their homes. It makes them see that they are not alone with this problem and that these problems can be overcome through collective actions.

The march serves to warn the street harassers that their actions are not welcome and will no longer be tolerated. Finally, the march serves to inform society that women are organizing to change society so that they can go where and how they please.

Yes means yes
No means no
However we dress
Wherever we go.

The IWW Today

By the Syndicalist Alliance

From things we read in the European libertarian and/or anarcho-syndicalist press, it seems to us that many European libertarians are under the impression that the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) is a genuine mass union organization or at least has significant influence within the U.S. working class. But this is a myth and it is necessary to puncture this myth if we are going to make a realistic judgment about the way forward for anarcho-syndicalism in the U.S.

According to IWW General Organizational Bulletin No. 3 (1980), the "current (IWW) membership... is between 450-500." Of course, numbers are not by themselves always a very good indication of the real influence of a group. A cohesive and active organization with small numbers can often have more influence than a larger organization with dispersed and/or passive membership. With a largely passive and not very cohesive membership, the IWW has even less influence within the working class than its numbers might indicate. The state of the IWW can be judged if we consider that San Francisco and Milwaukee—cities that had IWW groups with 30-50 members a few years ago—have not had any IWW branch meetings in several years.

Also, about half of the total membership of the IWW are members of workers' co-operatives (especially a number of small left-wing printing co-operatives). Because they are owners of their own means of production, they are not directly involved in the class fight between wage-earners and employers of wage-labour. In fact, the influence of the IWW within the North American working class today is virtually zero.

When the IWW was formed back in 1905, this was the culmination of a decade of bitter class conflict in the Western part of the U.S., especially among the miners and railway workers. Throughout the heyday of the IWW the organization always had its main base of support in the Western part of the U.S. (the Western wood, agricultural and mining workers' organizations were always the largest part of the IWW). Typical of the influential militants in the early IWW were "Big Bill" Haywood—a leader of the Western miners' union—and Gene Debs, who had gone to jail for his part in leading a national railway strike in 1894. Both Debs and Haywood were members of the left-wing of the Socialist Party. The left-wing of the Socialist party was the dominant ideological influence on the early IWW (the left-wing social-democrats had organized the IWW because the AFL was so pro-capitalist) and left-social-democracy is still a major influence in the IWW today.

IDEOLOGICAL

Today the IWW is really only a small band of radicals (of various ideologies). For the most part, individuals don't join the IWW because it has functioning shop organizations where they work, they join it because they agree with the IWW's politics. Nonetheless, the IWW defines itself as the future mass union organization of the whole working class (the "One Big Union" of all workers). Because the IWW refuses to define itself as an ideological organization, it suffers from a kind of organizational self-deception. This comes about because traditional IWW ideology refuses to recognize any role for any organization other than a mass union. In fact, the IWW's organizational concept leads to both sectarian and reformist tendencies un-



der present-day conditions in the U.S.

Sectarianism

First, how is the IWW sectarian? The IWW defines itself as the only possible instrument of workers' emancipation. Instead of defining itself in a more modest and realistic way—as merely an ideological caucus of libertarian socialist militants within the broader workers' movement, the IWW sees itself as the only "correct" organization for all workers. Because the IWW has always been defined as the "One Big Union," it has always rejected the distinction between ideological, minoritarian caucuses and class-wide, mass syndical organization.

We think this is the most fundamental mistake in IWW thinking. If mass revolutionary unionism emerges again in the U.S. at a future moment, it will happen because North American workers create it autonomously—it can't be cooked up in advance by small groups of radicals. In the meantime, we think libertarian militants in the labour scene should organize as an ideological caucus within the broad movement of the proletarian base.

Because of the way the IWW views itself (the only "correct" organization of the whole working class), many IWW members end up taking a sectarian posture towards the developing workers' movements and struggles at the base of the existing unions. Especially within the decade 1968-1978, there have been many militant actions by the rank-and-file of the U.S. unions in recent years—wildcat strikes, rank-and-file opposition groups, etc. Virtually every national and "international" union in the U.S. (U.S. unions are called "internationals" when they have a Canadian section) have seen the development of movements of the base in opposition to the union hierarchies. But the IWW has played no role in these movements nor has it had any significant influence on these developments. Many IWW members who belong to the existing unions abstain from union opposition movements because these opposition movements aren't in line with the traditional IWW objective of building up a totally new labor organization, the IWW.

Although the IWW is revolutionary in principle, it is in reality a reformist organization, like the Swedish SAC or the Spanish "escisionistas." This reformism has its source in the IWW's organizational concept as well as in the left-social-democratic tendency within the IWW.

Here we have to keep in mind the present social context in the U.S. The basis for a new revolutionary union movement does not exist in the U.S. at the present time. Acceptance of socialist ideas (in any form) is not widespread in the U.S. nor is the level of class consciousness as advanced as in Europe or South America. Because of this, the IWW finds itself forced to try to sell itself as "just another union." While hiding or downplaying its libertarian socialist politics, it tries to put

across to workers the idea that it is just a bit more "democratic and militant" than the established unions.

But the IWW has not been very successful in selling itself to workers as "just another union." So far as we know, the only real union the IWW has right now is an organization of less than 100 people at the University Cellar Bookstore on the campus of the University of Michigan. Except for the workers' co-operatives, this small shop organization accounts for nearly half of the active IWW membership.

This union recently signed a contract with the management which provides for dues check off (management collects the dues and gives the money to union officials), a system that helped to bureaucratize U.S. unions. Also, the contract provides for a German-style of "co-determination", with union representatives on the board of directors. For a number of IWW members (including some anarchists) this corporatist arrangement is regarded as "self-management."

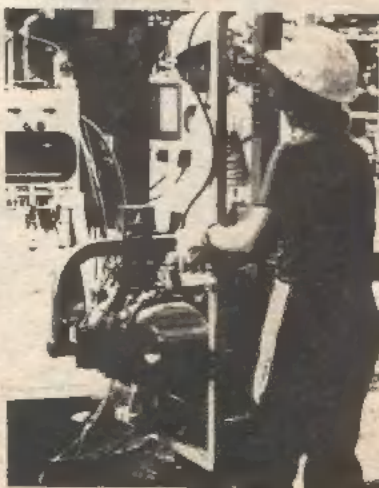
The only sort of libertarian workers organization that is possible in the U.S. at this time is an organization that views itself simply as an ideologically-defined caucus within the larger labour movement. There is no basis for a new revolutionary union federation in the U.S. at this time and we feel that any future mass revolutionary union movement or wide-spread development of self-managed shop organization in the U.S. will, in any event, arise autonomously, out of the development of the class struggle in the U.S., and cannot be formed in advance by small groups of radicals.

What is Needed

For ideological organizations or groups of libertarian workers at the present time, we propose the following two-pronged perspective:

- (1) The development of a direct action-oriented rank-and-file movement at the base of the existing unions, based on the shop-floor and independent of the union hierarchy instead of changing the labour movement "boring from within" the union hierarchies, we pose the alternative of building an autonomous movement of the base but within the context of a union opposition; and
- (2) in those places where a more independent route is appropriate, the development of assembly unions, independent of the hierarchical unions, and mass assemblies and shop committees of elected and revocable delegates.

It is one thing to put forward the idea of a direct actionist labour movement and "One Big Union", but it is another thing altogether to claim your small organization is going to be the "One Big Union". The IWW doesn't understand this distinction. This is what gets them into both sectarian and reformist tendencies.



Anarchist Revolution and Evolutionary Ecology

H.R. Olson

Social Darwinists are all too eager to attempt to use the theory of evolution to justify monopolistic state capitalism. In this essay, I hope to show that any such attempt is doomed to backfire and that modern evolutionary theory, coupled with ethical considerations of the present human condition, offers a bioethical basis for revolutionary libertarian ideology.

In NAA, Sue Kabaleusky and Ivan Neigum have articulated the radical view that modern evolutionary theory repudiates the orthodox Social Darwinist dogma of "nature red in tooth and claw", and presents anarchism with a view of human nature incompatible with authoritarian ideologies of ANY kind.

Social Darwinism is the ideology used to justify the domination of one person, or group of persons, over another race, caste, or class. It is also used to rationalize sexism as well. In a particularly crude form, it is argued that one economic class or another is destined to be the ruling class because of the alleged superior "fitness" of that class. But *all* such notions are based on pseudo-scientific fallacies.

To explain this assertion, let me present the scientific concept of evolution, and show how it differs from ALL of the variants of Social Darwinism first expounded in the 19th century.

The Blindness of Nature

Evolution is, first of all, a non-conscious indifferent process. That is to say, there is *NO* direction or goal to the process of natural selection. *Homo sapiens* are *NOT* the product of special creation or ANY other "directive" forces. Such a view was espoused by the French Roman Catholic priest, Teilhard de Chardin, and the belief is called "orthogenesis". Orthogenetic doctrines also occurred among the dogmas of the authoritarian left and right in both the 19th and 20th centuries. The *ONLY* sense in which

one could regard orthogenetic ideologies as "true", is that it seems likely that in human history and prehistory various types of genocide, both conscious and unconscious, have been perpetrated by ruling classes. This could result in a sort of "eugenics" program which could be interpreted erroneously, as evidence for "a directive force" in human evolution.

The ideas of orthogenesis originated as a result of the long historical tradition of plant and animal breeding. Genocidal policies of rulers do not always take the crude form of mass murder. Conscious and unconscious social and economic discrimination, always dependent on government policy for their effectiveness, can drastically affect demographic factors such as infant mortality, fertility and other factors affecting reproduction by "undesirables". Political and economic repression, based on centralization of agriculture and industry by State-supported, or State-enforced, monopolization have drastic effects favoring the distribution of power into the hands of the few. Religions and other dogmatic belief systems can be used for mystification, to undermine the revolutionary consciousness of the people, and decrease their ability to comprehend injustice.

Herbert Spencer, for example, argued that the poor of society *DESERVED* to be poor because market forces rewarded those who "contribute the most" to society. He conveniently ignored innumerable government interventions in even the so-called "laissez-faire" capitalist countries, not to mention the imperialist domination of other countries. In addition, his idea that the poor are somehow less "fit" is repudiated merely by the scientific definition, provided by Charles Darwin, of the concept of "fitness". The only meaningful criterion possible for evolutionary fitness is higher differential reproduction relative to others in the population. By this standard the poor are clearly *MORE* fit than the rich, even if one assumes that wealth has any direct relation to genetics, which it does not. The massive intervention of the governments in state capitalist societies, creating and maintaining monopolies, which could not otherwise exist, clearly benefit the ruling elite of any country. It should be clear by now that Social Darwinism, in ANY form, is intellectually, as well as morally, bankrupt.

Anarchy and Evolution

But how is it that modern evolutionary theory has anything to offer anarchism other than a repudiation of Social Darwinism? As scientific disciplines per se, evolutionary theory and Socio-biology have no ethical content. But the facts they present, once Social Darwinism has been repudiated, as above, provide the basis for an analysis of power structures in human societies, which considers the motives of ruling

classes in an ECOLOGICAL as well as a socio-economic perspective.

Evolutionary ecology in general and sociobiology in particular describe the "limiting conditions" for the evolution of social behavior. They describe how environments and social interactions affect the evolution of traits in animal populations. Sociobiology argues that the capacity for various behaviors in humans has been subject to the forces of selection as much as non-behavioral traits. Although somewhat clumsy, and easily misunderstood arguments, have discussed the possibility of genes and gene-complexes in "controlling" behavior in humans, the latter are not intrinsic to the study of human sociobiology. No one can deny that the brain has evolved in humans, as in other animals, from a process of genetic change. But one need not pose an oversimplified, mechanistic view of the process. It is well known that even the "simplest" traits of even purely physical characteristics are the product of complex interactions of separate genes. This phenomenon also can involve one gene regulating more than one trait. This is called "pleiotropism." What this means is that genetic regulation is unlikely to be a rigidly deterministic process, even for "simple" traits, like eye colour. In the embryonic and maturational development of organisms the environment is known to directly affect gene expression in the individual, i.e., the "phenotype".

With these caveats it is possible to approach the topic of the evolution of social behavior with less trepidation. The enormous "plasticity" of human behavior is clear evidence against rigid determinism of any kind. It should be understood that the genotype of a human clearly produces a broad range of responsibility, capacity to learn myriad different social strategies has been the major focus of human social evolution.

Virtue and the World

But the key value of evolutionary theory to anarchism lies in an understanding of the nature of the relationship of the individual to society. It is clear that cooperation between individuals and social groups has been advantageous throughout evolution. But it must be realized that the nature of social cooperation is more complex than it seems. No social adaptation or organizational arrangement has infinite value. There are clearly risks, as well as benefits, in any type of social group. In the broadest terms the greatest risk is exploitation. Such exploitation necessarily involves some form of coercion on the part of one or more members of the group on others.

To understand this more fully, it is important to understand both the evolutionary advantages, and risks, of social cooperation. The new scientific discipline of sociobiology has presented a useful model of the mechanisms involved in the evolution of social behavior which can serve to elucidate the nature of social exploitation as well as cooperation.

One of the greatest challenges in evolutionary biology has been the problem of the evolution of cooperative behavior of the kind that involves risk or loss of life for the sake of others. For Social Darwinists, the simplistic answer was "survival of the fittest." But Darwin himself, as well as modern sociobiologists, realized that this was not a scientific explanation.

In order for "altruistic" behavior to evolve, the capacity for such behavior would have to be expressed in the outward phenotypic behavior of individuals. In order for a behavioral trait such as "altruism" to survive, the capacity to learn and carry out such behavior must be beneficial to the acting individuals' overall reproductive success. Clearly, any genes which made it possible to risk one's well being for the sake of others would be wiped out without counterbalancing benefits to such individuals and of their kin. The kind of genes I am talking about do not necessitate altruistic behavior. All they need do is enhance the learning of emotional attachment UNDER APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS. Increased dependence of young offspring for a greater time, which obviously has occurred in our evolution, is just the kind of adaptation which might enhance the learning of emotional attachments, and favor the initial evolution of "altruism". A "snowball effect" could be expected if cultural changes reinforced the genetic change toward longer dependence of the young.

In addition to acts directly benefiting relatives, "altruistic" acts often occur between unrelated individuals. Such behavior occurs not merely within species but between individuals of totally unrelated species. It is termed "reciprocal altruism" or *mutualism* by evolutionary biologists. In humans, it involves networks of social relationships, involving social attitudes which create the feeling and thoughts often reported by heroic rescuers: "someone would have done the same for me".

This is the key to the nature of social cooperation. Individuals must be able to feel reciprocated, understood, and appreciated. Under conditions of intense social exploitation, as occur in modern society, such needs are not met. The result is that people respond cynically, since none of these behaviors are "innate" programs, independent of the environment.

The Decadence of Sexism

There is little doubt that both biological and cultural evolution have resulted in a profound capacity for social cooperation among humans. But even the most fundamental human relationship, "sexual bonding", presents serious risks of exploitation. In most mammals, including our early pre-human ancestry, the males exhibit a strong tendency to minimize their investment in their young, at the expense of females. Obviously, it is anthropomorphic, at best, to apply moral judgements on the sexual strategies of non-human mammals. But, as seems clear, certain aspects of man-woman relationships are clearly derived from these relationships of our ancestors and are no longer advantageous to anyone, in the final analysis. The rigid sexual division of labor and imposition of draconian mores on women (and men of lower status) is clearly an atavistic remnant of pre-human cultural adaptation. Even if people were justified in accepting such social conditions in the rigors of pre-history (I do not feel that they were) modern industrial society now makes it unnecessary for such conditions to continue.

The exploitation of women continues because of continued "CUL-

TURAL inertia" in which male power relationships over women are erroneously conceived by males of ruling classes as advantageous. The subordination of women to men is the result of at least two factors. First, the cultural inertia of a social milieu, inherited via behavioral rather than genetic transmission most likely, which maintains the male dominance as in pre-human ancestry. Second, the policies of ALL governments have been to reward "useful" males with control over women (and other men). A wide variety of policies of the church and the state reduce the social status of women to that of legalized chattels. The fundamental motive for this drive for power over women is a policy of implicit or explicit genocide against elements of society which reject social control imposed by ruling classes.



The Heart of the Matter

Human social ecology, therefore, must take account of the emotional and cultural mechanisms of our pre-human ancestry since social inertia clearly imposes outmoded human relationships on society. The ultimate motive for continuing such "traditions" is a genocidal motive to enhance the reproductive success of the ruling class, coercively, at the expense of the producers. The argument that such behavior is natural and beneficial is dependent on the dogma of Social Darwinist "survival of the fittest class". This depends on the unscientific idea that social adaptations occurred "for the good of the 'race'".

Even reciprocal altruism can be used, in a twisted form, to exploit people. One of the most important factors in the establishment of a reciprocal network is the establishment of "trust". The best way for such trust to be legitimately established is for individuals involved to be unaware, at the conscious level, of the mutualistic aspect (i.e., that their self-interest is involved as an incentive for the relationships). In the initial stages, this would be absolutely necessary to prevent themselves from being perceived as "too calculating" and disrupt the reciprocity and good will of the network. Unfortunately, this "ignorance is bliss" attitude has considerable risks despite the fact that it may have been advantageous, INITIALLY, in setting up the network. An unsocialized "cheater" could easily establish a one-sided relationship with others in the reciprocal network if suspicion itself were held to be "too calculating." The church, as well as the state, could obviously play a role in mystification of the reciprocal altruist network and turn it into the dogma of "self-sacrifice" so useful to the power elite today.

The reciprocal altruist network, being twisted in this fashion, can also explain the development of the capitalist state, in all of its manifestations, including the so-called "workers' states". In association with the maintenance of a patriarchal society, all state capitalist societies use the "ideal" of "self-sacrifice" to spur the producers on, and intimidate them into accepting an inferior role to the ruling class.

See Evolutionary Ecology p. 10



Book Reviews



Woman and Russia
Sheba Feminist Publishers
1980, 103p.p., \$5.95

For many years now people in the West have been associating the Democratic Movement in the USSR with figures such as Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn and organizations like the Helsinki Monitoring Groups. Fortunately this view is finally being discarded in light of the emergence of other, radical currents and the situation in neighbouring Poland.

Within this context the publication in English of *Woman and Russia* is an event of considerable importance. The book consists of a collection of writings taken from the short-lived underground feminist journal of the same name which came into circulation in 1979.

Upon reading it one is presented with the widely diverse expressions of an embryonic feminist movement. One which surfaced in what can only be described as a vacuum. For the reality it came into confrontation with was one in which there is relatively little in the way of a feminist tradition which could be embraced and progressed upon.

Nonetheless, to the extent that such a tradition exists the women who came together around *Woman and Russia* are aware of it and grasp its most important implications with respect to Soviet society. In particular there is a positive identification with the fresh approaches to interpersonal relationships and the radical assault upon the traditional family which occurred when the Soviet regime was in its infancy. Similarly, they recognize how rapidly this experimentation was brought to a halt with its complete liquidation being realized in the Stalinist period.

The abrupt reversal and the effects of the nearly sixty years which have followed motivates the editors to make the statement, "For the so-called woman question is the most important part for a general restructuring of society." One hardly finds this surprising given the stifling patriarchal character of Soviet society and the failure of Marxism-Leninism to effectively grapple with it. Indeed, in practice Marxist-Leninist ideology has a sorry history of belittling feminism and often violently denouncing it as inherently bourgeois. All the while claiming to uphold the interest of the proletariat.

The unfortunate consequence of this within the new Soviet feminist movement is that its spokespersons do not make any distinction between proletarian women and those who are privileged because of their class background. Added to this is the alienation of the contributors to *Woman and Russia* from proletarian women. Many of them are to the contrary drawn from artistic and in-

tellectual circles in the largest urban centres of the USSR.

They are also alienated from the mainstream of Soviet dissent. But this is through no fault of their own and given the nature of much of the dissident movement this is hardly a handicap. In fact, these Soviet feminists justifiably express bitterness and frustration towards the failure of the Democratic movement to respond positively towards their contribution to the struggle for elementary democratic rights. Without a doubt the overwhelmingly male composition of the human rights movement largely accounts for the animosity expressed towards feminism and failure to even question male domination in the USSR.

The accumulative effect of these experiences is expressed in the determination of the participants in *Woman and Russia* to see women confront the oppression they bear through their own self-activity and without making any distinctions among themselves. Clearly, their journal was created to facilitate this process by providing Soviet women with a medium to communicate their experiences, exchange information etc.

Consequently, many of the selections in *Woman and Russia* are personal accounts of experiences suffered in a society where degradation and self-denial is commonplace for women.

For instance, R. Batalove in an essay called *Human Birth* expresses her anger at a prevailing attitude among Soviet men which receives official encouragement. She decries how, "Hypocritically, they go on glorifying motherhood." Further explaining, "You are a mother, be proud! — they tell you, but your name is defiled on the street corner, it is used in the vilest obscenities. And this isn't all; look at yourself! You are no longer that fresh flower which your master might wish to pluck. You have withered and you are reproached for this."

Further on, V. Golubeva describes in *The Other Side of the Medal* the living hell of having an abortion in a clinic where several are carried out simultaneously in the same room. According to her, "The tables are placed so that a woman can see everything that goes on opposite her: the face distorted in pain, the bloody mass extracted from the womb."

She also discusses the plight of single mothers in the USSR focusing upon the meagre amount of economic support given to them by the state. Golubeva draws upon this neglect and the fact that "Nurseries and kindergartens are the most dreadful institutions in the nation's health services" to denounce as mythical the proclaimed emancipation of Soviet women. Their actual situation is the same double burden of oppression experienced in the West compounded by lesser ordeals such as spending hours in queues to buy food and other goods in short supply.

Among the remaining essays is one recalling being a witness to chauvinistic violence on the part of boys at a Young Pioneers (something like the scouts) summer camp. Then there is *Letter from Novosibirsk* written by J. Voznesenskaya, a former inmate in Novosibirsk prison, giving a gruesome account of the malicious, ruthlessly sexist treatment she and other women prisoners were subjected to by their male captors.

In contrast to accounts of these kinds in *Woman and Russia* are two tracts which are offensive to the struggle for human liberation. These are written by deeply religious women.

In one T. Goricheva says prayer

"... helped me to discover and resurrect my female self in all its purity and absoluteness." In the other another Christian "feminist" recites in prose,

Oh God white as jasmine,
If my head falls from my shoulders,
This is my sacrifice to you.

One can only wonder in disbelief at how such mysticism finds its way into a journal pursuing the liberation of women!

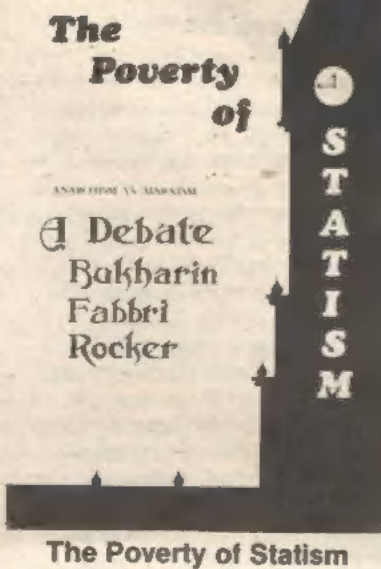
The closing selections are made up of short stories and poems pointing up the cultural pursuits of many of the contributors. These give the book an aesthetic dimension.

The short story *The Poster Woman* is a moving statement stressing the creative capacities of individual women. The other short story *Flying Lizards* contains a more explicitly political message which links both militarism and the loss of youthful innocence to patriarchal repression.

One of the poems — Ivina Talin's "With the grandeur of Homer and the purity of Sappho..." — challenges readers who have not already done so to consider experiencing bisexuality. This is a particularly daring statement because prevailing attitudes towards being gay in the USSR aren't much more advanced than those in Iran.

In short, *Woman and Russia* is must reading for those of us interested in the sexual dimensions to the general struggle for the transformation of "communist" societies. In both its strengths and its weaknesses the book offers unique insights into the nature of a system where the liberation of women exists only on paper.

Brian Amesly



The Poverty of Statism

Albert Meltzer, ed., Minneapolis:
Soil of Liberty, 1981, 93 pp.

Within the contemporary workers' movement the posture of revolutionaries as regards the state has received little critical attention. The orthodox left artificially separates questions of state power from the public and private life of class society as a whole. While there are no doubt important differences of style within the traditional socialist groupings all are agreed that a state is the organ for reconciling class antagonisms. It was with a view to challenging this reformism that the new English edition of *The Poverty of Statism* was issued.

There is a curious parallelism between this view of the state as the agency of class harmony and the prospects for revolution. For this understanding of the state apparatus has corresponded to a practical situation in which the problem of revolution has interested few, if any, tendencies in the labour movement.

It was during the incubation of this reformist current that Nikolai Bukharin was commissioned by sections of the Third International to provide a theoretical dimension for their attempts to diminish anarchist influence among the masses in the early 1920's — particularly in Italy. In the first quarter of this century that perspective held a considerable attraction for the industrial proletariat in that country as elsewhere.

Luigi Fabbri, who took the anarchists' part in this polemic, was quick to respond to the Bolshevik critique. Both Bukharin and Fabbri's articles form part of this new pamphlet. Also included are two studies by Rudolf Rocker — the German syndicalist — on the content of social organization and the attitude of Marxists on social organization.



Nikolai Bukharin

Nikolai Bukharin's contribution is entitled *Anarchy and Scientific Communism*. In it he reasons that economic depression and material deprivation tend to reduce immediate producers into an anarchic mob. To combat this process he suggests that Marxism be distinguished from the anarchist project.

Bukharin argues that for Marxists the essence of the state is regulation of the class war. The proletariat can use the authoritarian violence of a state to regulate this war in its favour till it completely vanquishes the bourgeoisie. That is what is meant by the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. He concludes that anarchists oppose this dictatorship because they are a horde of beggars.

Fabbri's reply to this text is named *Anarchy and 'Scientific' Communism*. He criticizes, first of all, the bourgeois phraseology of a "scientific" communism which does not trouble to acquaint itself with the primary sources of the theory it intends to refute. He also points out the impudence attached to a standpoint which argues against its opponents as mere beggars and bandits. And Fabbri asks just who it is that sees nothing positive in the ragged mob created by the bourgeoisie? It is the labour aristocracy — the petit bourgeoisie — which never sees just how the revolutionary temper of the modern proletariat is inseparably bound up with the socially inflicted poverty in which they are forced to live.

Moreover, though, Fabbri's contribution is concerned to point out why anarchists do not support dictatorship — even should it wear the proletarian colours. This opposition is based on a different understanding of the state as an instrument of class rule — the social organ which divides classes into public and private interests and the means of concentrating public power to maintain classes. Under this conception no state can just wither away. It must be smashed deliberately. And so anarchists conclude; why constitute a state in the revolutionary process? But as well anarchists point out that a dictatorship does not free the proletariat from exploitation — it points the revolution in a back-

ward direction.

Anarchists accept instead other forms of fighting and organizing than the governing party type. That form is direct action by the organs of proletarian violence including the unions, factory councils, labour rooms, federations, congresses, etc. **Everything for the councils** — that is our slogan.

But really, why is it that the traditional socialist theory — the politics of despair — developed such a reformist opinion of the state? Fabbri is of the opinion that it is because the orthodox socialists, blinded by piece-meal privileges, have no total programme for social reconstruction — all they offer is the terror. They have not even an inkling that the potential exists to organize society on the basis of a commonwealth where the custom could be common enjoyment of the fruits of common work — there are tendencies already at work to bring such a reality to fruition.

If we turn finally to the two essays by Rudolf Rocker called *Anarchism and Sovietism* and *Marx and Anarchism* which round out this pamphlet there is evidently an amplification of Fabbri's views. Although these essays are penned earlier than the other two articles they address the same issues. The central theme stressed by Rocker is the whole tendency of social history to create a flexible cooperation between immediate producers. He concludes that the most flexible organization of society to date is the syndicate of the working class and says therefore that there exists no higher aim than to strengthen these warm, loving and comfortable bonds. Furthermore he clarifies the role of Marxism in obstructing this progress by the imposition of parliamentary forms and Jacobin tactics on the proletariat from outside.

All in all then this book makes for some of the most fascinating reading I have encountered in the last decade. I recommend its serious study to all interested parties and social groups without reservation.

RED BALLOON TO IS "PLEASE BOMB SHC"

Secret government documents reveal that Cub several outside agitators) in a self-proclaimed "the "Neutralization by aerial protective reaction power plants, particularly the soon-to-be com Shoreham Long Island.

"You'll be saving the taxpayers \$2.5 billion draconian plutonium-eater", the telegram also help prevent a lot of needless arrests of near future. Plant a tree in Amerika and born a favor." For some unknown reason, the Humphrey Bogart. (In a related story, a quip up no reference to Mr. Bogart in relation Bacall, Bogie's partner both on and off the press: "If Bogie had been alive when the line, he'd have stayed in Casablanca at Ri letters of transit to Ingrid.")

Reliable sources say Menachem Begin drooled on his chin when he received fooling around, those radicals, they do chorus of "Sieg Heil, Mein Fuhrer," the Red Balloon Collective a lesson and stand.

A Collective conspirator remarked: now in effect. Here's looking at you, I No one seems to know what the C tire free world is concerned lest the creating international chaos. "What tive questions, "governments are well, that's what governments that for one final comment, the Col them, you can play it for us. If Ir chem, for old times sake. Play it!

The Red Balloon Collective pi irregular basis. Contact them c/ USA.

Wajda's 'Man of Iron' Feet of Clay

By Lazarus Jones

When *Man of Iron* was awarded the top prize at this year's Cannes film festival the Kremlin immediately denounced the move as "politically motivated." In a very real sense they were right. The Polish August was high drama played out on the world stage to daily packed houses. The mass media singled out the main actors, highlighted the "stakes" involved and gave us well defined heroes to cheer and villains to boo. The Polish events, for various and often contradictory reasons, captured the imagination of the entire Western world. The Cannes judges were not immune to this phenomenon. Their decision was political, in the best sense of the word, as much as it was artistic. *Man of Iron* happens to be a very political film and it must be judged in political terms.

Unfortunately, as an anarchist, a political evaluation of this movie leads me to only one conclusion — *Man of Iron* is a lousy film. The director, Andrej Wajda, is a member of the Polish communist party's central committee and his version of the genesis of the Gdansk general strike is one that allows the party to emerge relatively unscathed. The cardboard bad-guys are all middle-level bureaucrats or disgruntled security policemen who despise "politicians" who "feel they have to be nice guys." The top party officials are always viewed from a sympathetic distance and when they deign to actually listen to the workers' legitimate grievances we can feel the "hurt" exude from the screen when the workers' delegates demand to know if they will be treated as "criminals" when things cool down.

The movie's plot revolves around a boozy reporter called Winkler who is maneuvered into preparing a hat-

chet-job on the instigator of the strike — the Man of Iron. He is initially presented as a cynical hack who casually coaches a group of "housewives" into making anti-strike public statements. Later we learn that he was the producer of a sympathetic treatment of the 1971 insurrection that earned him a jail term and soured his youthful idealism. The authorities regard him as a spineless tool whose "radical" past might be useful in gaining access to the sources necessary for the preparation of the projected piece of character assassination. It is this jaded condition of Poland's intelligentsia which forms the real theme of *Man of Iron*, but, more on that later.

Winkler has the face and figure of a punching bag and provides the perfect foil for Wajda's flyweight criticisms of the Polish regime. We see Winkler being dutifully asked to sign for everything he needs, from his car to the dossier containing all the known and fabricated dirt on his intended victim — socialism, as Lenin observed, really does seem to be just a matter of "checking and

accounting." We see Winkler confronting proletarian solidarity as he tries to cajole a female bartender into breaking Solidarity's liquor ban — "don't play your silly games with me," she militantly retorts. And, at the film's end, we see Winkler, now won over to the workers' cause, being testily told by another middle-level bureaucrat that the Gdansk Accords are worthless. "Don't worry," he assures Winkler, "they were secured under duress, they don't mean a thing." This, in exasperation Wajda is telling us, is what the harried but basically honest party leaders have to deal with.

Solidarity

It is also significant that nearly all of Wajda's leading characters are drawn from the intelligentsia. Winkler, the woman TV producer, the ex-student turned TV engineer and even the "man of iron" himself is an ex-student who has rejected his potential privilege to join the workers. These are all people from Wajda's own social milieu and they share his reformist concerns. Like the KOR leaders who insinuated themselves into the workers' movement Wajda merely wants efficient management, the abolition of political controls, an end to corruption and freer hierarchical mobility based on ability rather than the capacity to swallow prodigious amounts of ideological shit. In short — "social democracy."

In the movie's final scene the "man of iron" talks to the spirit of his dead father on the spot where the latter was gunned down in an earlier revolt.

"We've won," he says, echoing Lech Walesa whose beaming mug — disconcertingly reminiscent of Stalin's — is used in selected scenes to spice up the movie. One only has to read the latest dispatches from Poland containing Walesa's current views to understand what "victory" means. The tentative commitment to some form of co-management of Polish society won by Solidarity was not a real victory for the workers. Its real beneficiaries will be the intelligentsia. And they, true to form, will turn against the workers when they have ridden them to power.

If the above assessment of *Man of Iron* seems overly negative let me say that the movie is not a total loss. The location scenes are very evocative, especially the gates of the Lenin shipyard and the meeting hall where the Gdansk Accords were signed.

Wajda is also undeniably a film artist and some of his framing is quite good. The actual signing of the Accords, for example, intercuts between shots of the podium and almost floor level shots from the back of the hall which give a very effective delegate's-eye-view of the proceedings. Wajda even indulges in a few visual jokes at the party's expense such as his shot of the almost empty hall with a massive heroic statue of Lenin gazing forlornly out at the departing workers.

So my advice is to see this movie if you are at all interested in the Polish events. Just don't go expecting to see a "revolutionary" movie or any semblance of a radical analysis. Contrary to Mr. Wajda we don't need men of marble or iron. People, of simple flesh and blood, will do quite nicely.

ISRAEL: REHAM!

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ed Balloon 'Collective')
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of all American nuclear
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by obliterating this odious
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anti-nuke protestors in the
b a nuke! You'll be doing us
y attributed the last line to
ck check of F.B.I. files turned
o nuclear power, but Lauren
reen for many years, told the
first nuclear plant went on the
ck's and never have given those

sputtered into the Knesset and
ne telegram. "They think we're
t know Menachem Begin." To a
he Israeli cabinet vowed to teach,
bomb Stony Brook University in-

"Aha! They fell for it! Plan A is
id."
ollective is talking about; but the en-
e Cuban-backed terrorists succeed in
are the real terrorists?", the Collec-
bomb the hell out of people legally,
supposed to be all about, no?" Asked
ective drawled: "You can play it for
q can take it, we can too. Play it, Mena-
Play 'As Nukes Whiz By'."
ublishes a journal of the same name on an
Polity, SUNY, Stony Brook, NY 11794,

Poetry

BACK TO FREEDOM

1980
and canadian poets
lose jobs as role-models
for political views.

1980
and women are raped
in Argentine prisons
for no reason.

1980
and draft registration
is required in the U.S.
"just for show."

1980
and the right
has been freed.

Finally
minority rights
for one group
are protected.

Too bad its the rich.

Brian Burch

BETRAYAL

A ten-year old
describing abstract art
to his father
in terms
that only the creators
of commercial
would appreciate.

Brian Burch

BUTTERFLIES AND LEMONADE

Just before an election
is to be called
one hears the government
praising the wonders
of its reign
while the opposition
describes the beauties
of its plans.

Somehow,
no matter who wins,
the people
are given unsweetened lemonade
and the winners
pull the wings
off of butterflies.

Brian Burch

NEXT EXIT

A unicorn wandered by me
while I busily pretended
not to seem concerned
by its presence.

When my boss came by
and asked me
what, if anything,
was new, I told her
that a unicorn and its rider
had stopped and that the unicorn
had asked me directions
to some saner part of the world.

Boss lady laughed at me.
You know, she said,
that unicorns don't have riders.

So I told her the truth
about the unicorn just walking by.

People shouldn't lie to their bosses.

Brian Burch



It's Killing Us All

by: Arthur Miller

The owners maintain and express concern for machines. The machine is a capital investment and as such is owned. It neither lives nor feels thus it does not suffer. Unlike the machine, the worker's health and well-being is of no concern to the owners because the worker is not owned by the boss. When a worker becomes sick, is injured or dies a replacement is easily found from among the reserve army of the unemployed. Little is lost by the owners in risking workers' lives. The worker is dying to serve the boss.

I knew this. And I was tired of having no money. Finding a job at any money was hard.

Like many blind fools I began to look into trade schools. I found one that I could get in that had as its shortest course marine pipefitting. Using the course length as my criteria for choosing I began to learn my trade. I thought it was no better or worse than any other trade as I was there for the money and that's all.

After being cheated by the trade school and travelling thousands of miles chasing jobs I learned my trade. I found that once I was working as a journey-person work was much easier to find.

With four years of pipefitting I found myself working in a big shipyard out West. On the first Monday of every month we had (what was supposed to be) safety meetings. One month a man from the union came to talk to us and gave us a two minute rap on asbestos without saying what we should do about it. This was the first time I had heard anything bad about asbestos. At the time I did not think too much about it.

Some three years later I was sitting at a friend's home watching TV when a commercial came on from the government telling pipefitters who have worked on ships for over ten years to see a doctor. Then I began to read all I could about asbestos. I read where the government did research about pipefitters in a Baltimore shipyard. It found that of those with ten years service 56 percent had lung damage. I had over nine years service.

It was then that I decided to write about the source of my possible death. I came to realize that it wasn't just me or pipefitters who are affected. The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare's statistics estimate between four and eight million American workers may die of asbestos-related diseases. The government also says that 10 to 15 percent of all cancer deaths are due to asbestos.

Lung Cancer is the most common asbestos caused cancer. One of every

three asbestos workers dies from it. Next there is Mesothelioma. Then Gastro-Intestinal Cancer affecting the stomach, large intestine and rectum caused by the presence of asbestos fibers in the lining of the gastro-intestinal tract.

Asbestos is in digested foods, liquids and fibers which are trapped in the upper part of the lungs. It is able to reach the stomach carried by mucus in the lungs to the back of the throat then swallowed. Anyone who inhales asbestos digests it. Finally it is known that asbestos causes Laryngeal (throat) cancer.

On top of these cancers, as if they aren't enough, asbestos causes a breathing disease called Asbestosis-White Lung. This is a scarring of the lungs from exposure to asbestos dust. This disease is similar to silicosis which is experienced by hard rock miners and to black lung contracted by coal miners. As this scarring becomes more extensive the victim's lungs lose their flexibility and breathing becomes more difficult. As the disease develops the sufferer may develop TB, bronchitis or pneumonia, all of which may be fatal. Furthermore, failure of the right side of the heart is a common cause of death because asbestos scarred lungs cannot provide enough air.

What is Asbestos?

Asbestos is one of the most dangerous pollutants ever discovered. It is a mineral with a number of useful qualities. Being heat and corrosive resistant it is a fibrous material and very flexible. Asbestos fibers are nearly indestructible.

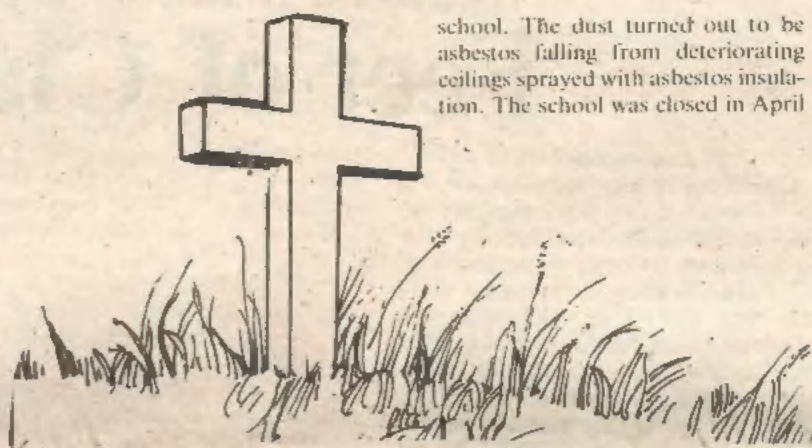
Asbestos is used in: aprons, arm protectors, bags, blankets, blocks, bonded pipe, braid, brake lining, cement boards, cement partitions, cement roofing, cement sewer pipe, cement tile, cloth, clothing, cords, corrugated fabrics, felt, fillers, filtering materials, flooring, gaskets, hats, helmets, insulated cables, insulation, legging, lining, lumber, mats, metallic cloth, mill boards, mittens, overgaiters, packed corrugated metal gaskets, packing, pads and covers, panels, paper paste, pipe and boiler covers, plastic shingles, pot holders, protected metals, roof ventilators, rope, sheathing, siding, sleeving, stove lining, stove mats, table padding, tapes, textiles, thread, tubing, twine, wall-board, wicking, wire, wool and yarns.

Yes folks, not only do you have all these nice asbestos products to contaminate your body with but you may also have them with your breakfast, lunch, dinner and leisure drinking. The orange juice you drink and the vitamin tablet you take with it may very well be filtered through asbestos.

rage is only a NECESSARY, BUT NOT SUFFICIENT, condition for the liberation of humanity. We must be fully informed of the true nature of reactionary social forces and summon the moral courage to challenge these wherever they are seen.

The modern science of sociobiology offers true libertarian revolutionaries a means to comprehend, in detail, the mechanisms used by ALL ruling classes to maintain their power and hence the genocidally sexist policies of ALL governments in the world. Piecemeal reformist attitudes of statist "revolutionaries" toward the abolition of sexist, hierarchical social structures and their coercive policies are clearly part and parcel of such reactionary social forces which sociobiology can help identify.

But ultimately, science cannot replace the acceptance, by each of us, of the moral responsibility for direct action in the cause of human liberation. For too long, we have accepted the authority of the church and/or state as the arbiter of



school. The dust turned out to be asbestos falling from deteriorating ceilings sprayed with asbestos insulation. The school was closed in April

Many vegetable oils, sugar and some alcoholic beverages, including 60 percent of European wines, contain asbestos. In addition, one-third of all the drugs tested at Mount Sinai Hospital in 1973 had asbestos in them.

Are you beginning to understand why one out of every four Americans will get cancer? Well here's some more bad news. There are over 3,000 products made of or with asbestos. In 1976 over 750,000 short tons were virtually poured into the environment in the U.S. alone. Asbestos is all about our environment: millions of tons of indestructible death. Since there is no safe level of asbestos in the body this means that with just one exposure to asbestos it could result in your death!

Asbestos is such a potent carcinogen that families of asbestos workers have gotten cancer through exposure, to the worker's dirty clothes. Brake linings are 33 to 73 percent by weight asbestos, and in Canada, in 1970, the emission level from brake lining wear was an estimated 72 tons.



Fighting Back

Struggles have been fought in the U.S. and Canada over asbestos in schools and other public buildings. Not only do the statists give our children a brain washing in their institutions but they also give many the means for their future death.

A London physician first discovered some of the deadly dangers asbestos poses in 1900 and governments the world over have been trying to cover up the facts from the people ever since.

A librarian in Lander, Wyoming became suspicious of a layer of dust covering furniture throughout the

of 1972. This discovery sparked numerous investigations of schools in the U.S. and Canada. In a place called Howell Township children were found sick from asbestos-related diseases. Six of their elementary schools were then closed.

In Harlem parents forced two schools to be shut down when they discovered asbestos flaking from the ceiling. Harlem parents demanded and got hold of a secret Board of Education report showing how at least 189 of the city's schools were contaminated. Later the estimate was revised to about 500. Likewise, organized workers in the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) in Windsor, Ontario have battled the Windsor Public School Board of Education to reveal the truth and act upon it.

Asbestos is present in nearly every store or office building. In 1975 nineteen buildings were examined and found to contain levels ranging from a thousand fibers per cubic meter of air to about one hundred thousand

fibers per cubic meter. Millions of office workers work in asbestos contaminated buildings including Madison Square Gardens, the World Trade Centre and over half of the skyscrapers in the U.S. Fresh air systems often circulate right over the sprayed on asbestos picking it up then dispersing it throughout the building.

Airborne asbestos is not restricted to communities with asbestos plants or in buildings but also in the cities themselves. Of fifty U.S. cities recently sampled all had measurable levels with New York rating the highest. This contamination comes mainly from brake linings, buildings

sprayed with asbestos insulation, or fitted with asbestos products, and from construction or demolition sites.

What do we do with all these asbestos contaminated buildings? If we tear them down we will disperse more fibres into the air. The fibres, being very small will be picked up by the wind making the contamination spread very far.

Drinking water in most U.S. and Canadian cities is now contaminated too. This is because of the use of asbestos cement pipes and the entry of asbestos into water systems from other sources.

On the Job

What workers are exposed to asbestos on the job? The answer is most. The list of some includes: air filtration systems workers, asbestos cement pipe makers, cement sheet makers, cement shingle makers, friction product makers, filter makers, rock miners, truckers, millers, weavers, paper workers, felt insulation workers, insulators, tube wrappers, loaders, crushers, spinners, asphalt makers, cork insulation workers, automobile mechanics, barge builders, brake and clutch lining makers, runway builders, construction workers, dam builders, drain tile makers, electrical appliance wire makers, fireproofers, garage workers, heat insulation makers, masons, oil refinery workers, paint makers, pier builders, pipefitters, furnace fitters, plastic makers, post makers, pump packers, putty makers, reservoir builders, road construction workers, rubber workers, shipyard workers, sidewalk builders, silo builders, smokestack builders, sound insulation makers, stadium builders, storage tank builders, swimming pool builders, tale miners and workers, tunnel builders, vinyl asbestos tile makers, water pipe makers and welders.

As regulations have been tightened in the U.S. and Canada the bosses are exporting their death factories abroad. Workers in poor, oppressed countries like Taiwan, South Korea, Brazil and India will become the victims.

But this may change. With Bonzo Reagan as the head statist in the U.S. we will probably see regulations which now exist vanish in the paper shredder along with regulations on coal dust, lead, cotton dust and all other safety regulations which may cost the bosses money.

So wherever there is a fibrous material workers should automatically suspect asbestos. Workers should demand that a sample be sent to a reliable laboratory for identification.

Remember. There is no safe level of either asbestos, government or capitalism!

each person's autonomy. The fusion of this ethical insight with the self-knowledge provided by evolutionary biology will provide a bio-ethical basis for libertarian class analysis and revolutionary direct action.

EVOLUTIONARY ECOLOGY

Continued from Pg. 7

Sociobiology thus offers an ecological perspective from which to evaluate systems of political economy in terms of the effects of statist policies on the social power of the people to control their own lives, and enhance the well-being of their children. As stated previously,

the genocidal policies of ruling classes stem from much more than sheer greed for mere economic wealth. Such motives are almost pure, compared to their true motivations. Political power is the power to commit genocide in either outright, or more subtle, forms such as monopolization of the means of production by ruling classes.

Considering the vast human population of the world, we can no longer afford, if we ever could, to tolerate this. But revolutionary out-

moral values. This is, and has always been, far too dangerous. Moral autonomy is the key to human liberation. Through an understanding of the nature of reactionary social forces provided by an understanding of social evolution

we can again unite, confident in the knowledge that we can eliminate exploitation by awareness of its true mechanisms.

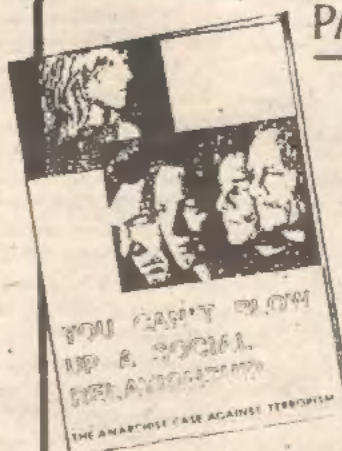
Finally, the people of the world can unite in the genuine solidarity made possible only by respect for

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FIRST PUBLICATION

Anarchosyndicalist Conference Regrouping Process Begins

By Mike Harris

As many people know, mid-July in New York City is not the most comfortable place to be. Despite the uncomfortable heat and humidity a small, informal gathering of anarcho-syndicalists met to discuss a broad range of issues. These discussions were initiated by the Libertarian Workers' Group (LWG) and supported by a number of ex-ACP affiliates. The purpose of this meeting was not to create a formal organization. Rather the meeting was held to discuss issues, renew old ties and to see if there was enough agreement on basic issues to continue our discussions at a future date. Overall there seemed to be such a consensus.

Although the meeting was not a formal one — formal in the sense that all decisions were binding and a commitment to an organizational form — a fairly comprehensive agenda was submitted by the LWG. Presentation and agreement on the agenda was then followed by an introductory position paper of the LWG. This not only outlined the LWG's positions on various questions and areas of struggle, but also presented an historical analysis of the LWG and its practice, as well as that of the anarchist movement. It should be duly noted that this position paper was not only the product of the LWG but also based on discussions with other comrades outside the group.

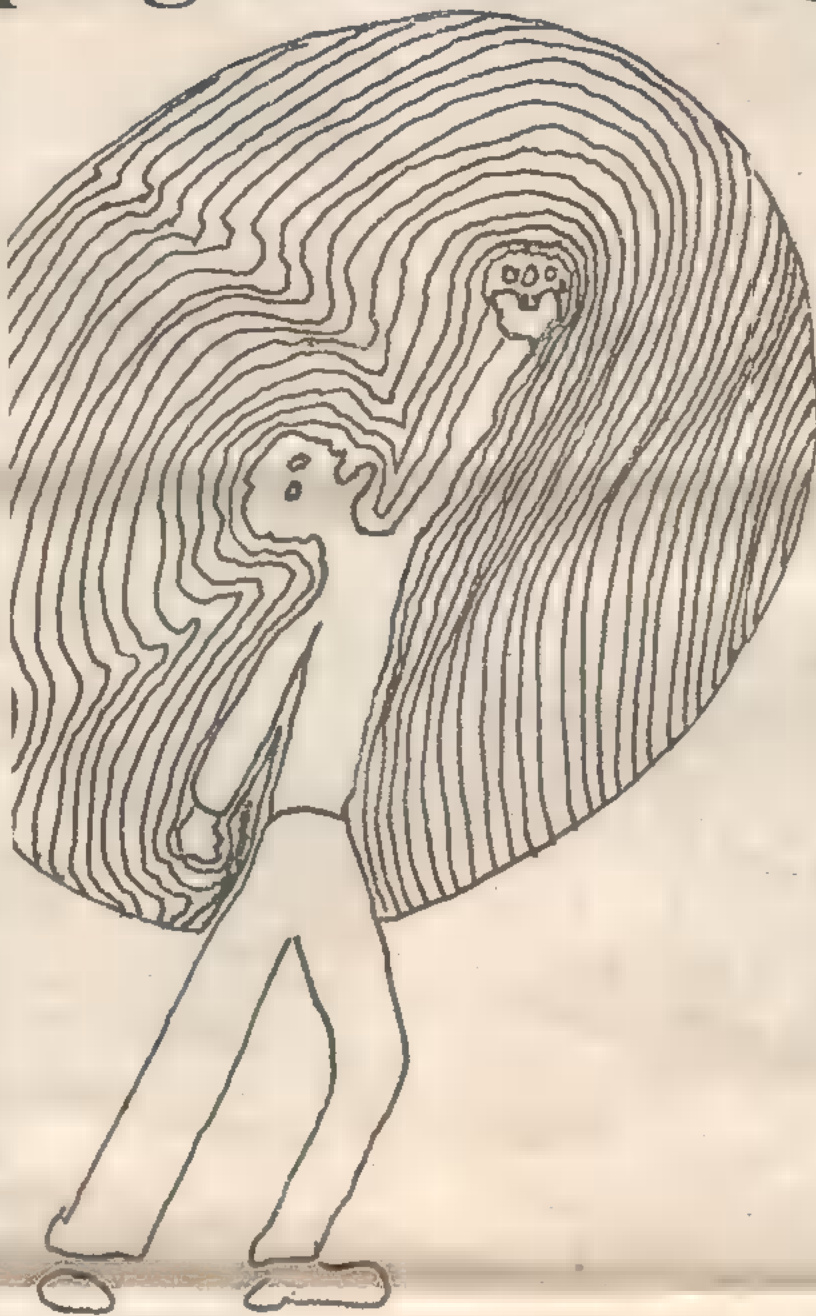
The LWG position paper helped to lay the issues on the table. It helped to facilitate discussions and was referred to quite often as a starting point for discussion. The overall tone of the position paper was generally critical of the anarchist movement for its lack of a class struggle perspective and analysis; specifically one based on a modern theory and practice. The document was also critical of the anarchist movement's overall isolation from both the struggles of our class in North America and internationally. Criticism was leveled at the anarchist movement's lack of prioritizing its workplace and political activities locally and continentally.

Breaking with old anarchist traditions of accepted forms of organization the position paper suggested "class struggle anarchists" should question the federative form of organization. It further noted that in light of both the historical experience of the anarchist movement and the working class movement the committee form of organization might be the new organizational form that is needed. Naturally there was disagreement on this score and this is one of the questions that our movement should not only be discussing, but should also be testing in practice.

It would be an injustice to both the position paper, the participants and the discussions that followed to dwell on all points that the position paper hit on. Comprehensive as it was, the discussions that followed, in nearly all cases, hit upon the points raised in the paper. On that score we should now turn to some of the discussions.

Maturing Process

Since these discussions were informal we began with a round robin discussion of local activities. We heard reports from Canada (which seemed to be quite busy with Polish workers solidarity, industrial and feminist activities), Milwaukee and West Virginia (where they are busiest in anti-nuke activities and some anarchist propaganda), as well as additional bits of info from NYC. Although the levels of activity varied due to size and local conditions, one was able to sense that group activities were being both prioritized and taking on a clear working class



character. In some cases there was a feeling of self-confidence that, pragmatically speaking, our activities will be much more successful than in the past. In other words there is a clear recognition of the political maturity of our practice.

As anarcho-syndicalists one would naturally think the bulk of our activities would be workplace centered. While this is overall an on target assumption, the discussions also centred around the participants' "mass work". Such work has had mixed results concerning our presentation of libertarian ideas into mass struggles, such as anti-nuke, anti-draft and to a lesser extent the issue of revolution in Latin America. Limitations of our mass work also became apparent in several comrades' recognition that people respect them as individuals but not necessarily as libertarians.

There was also the recognition that there are severe limitations to mass work as libertarians. Such limitations include fears of dissolution of our politics and the inherent reformism of left groups who dominate many movements or the lack of left movement in many cases. There is also the problem of devoting too much time and energy to mass movements where we fail to recruit people into our groups and movement. On this point there was some disagreement. Some comrades felt that recruitment was not a priority, instead spreading libertarian ideas in these movements. The overall consensus was that we need to further define and analyze our goals, work and the tools we're using in these movements.

The discussions then turned to the question of the anarchist movement's relationship to the class struggle and the reformist trade unions. Before moving on to this point it should be noted that there was little discussion of the Industrial Workers of the World. A point some comrades felt should

have been discussed in detail. However the overall consensus was that the IWW was irrelevant to most of our own situations. Secondly comrades either felt hostile or indifferent towards the IWW as a revolutionary union. Yet it should be noted that nearly all those in attendance at one time belonged to the IWW.

Given the LWG's long history of practical activity in the class struggle the LWG was given the floor to present their viewpoint on the role of anarcho-syndicalists in the labor movement. It has long been known in the libertarian movement that the LWG takes a "pluralistic" viewpoint towards the creation of a revolutionary labor movement. By "pluralistic" the LWG means the creation of both autonomous rank and file organizations in the trade unions, as well as the development of independent revolutionary workers' organizations. However at this point the mainstay of their activity has been in their respective unions and industry, that is the needle trades (garment, textile, fur, etc) of NYC. It should also be noted that several LWG members initiated the Needle Trades Workers' Action Committee, a rank and file committee in the needle trades.

A comrade questioned whether or not working in the reformist unions led to integration into the bureaucracy, either by taking positions of leadership or by becoming union reformers like other left groups. In response an LWG member responded that as anarchists we're duty bound to defend workers self-organization from integration into the bureaucracy and that the question of taking on leadership positions — except stewards in certain situations — was out of the question. Rather the LWG see themselves as militants and libertarians building movements "from below" and creating organic ties to our class. It was agreed that the role

of libertarians is to help create situations of dual power in the unions, rekindling working class self-confidence and self-organization.

Pluralist Approach

Given the objective situation of those present it was agreed that we should begin to develop conditions in our workplaces and unions similar to that above. The discussions then turned to the nature of trade union bureaucracy and dual power. On the question of bureaucracy the LWG maintained that they tend not to see the trade union bureaucracy as a class yet. It was argued that the LWG sees the interests of the bureaucracy as different from the rank and file; as an emerging class. The rise of this class is not inevitable.

The discussion of dual power was largely discussed in relationship to the LWG's activity in the needle trades. It was argued that dual power is not an organizational form, but a relationship. It was agreed, however, that dual power is a process involving many aspects, including some organizational ones.

Throughout the discussions it was clear that overall the participants identified Social Democracy as the main enemy on the left in the labor movement. It was generally agreed that if Anarcho-syndicalism is to move ahead it's imperative to defeat social democracy. In the future we need to split rank and file militants away from the social democratic leadership. It is important to point out how leftist parties are exploiting the changes in the social democratic union bureaucracies (UAW, IAM, etc) as well.

In those unions (locals or otherwise) where the Communist Party, Trotskyist or Marxist-Leninist parties maintain strong influence anarchists, it was argued, should not side with the social democrats. Anarchists must learn from the historical experience of the 1920's — in the needle trades — that when anarchists side with the social democrats in the above sort of struggle the anarchists are usually "rewarded" with leadership positions. Their "anarchist" politics soon became indistinguishable from the social democrats.

As the general discussions drew to a close the meeting turned to specifics. That is what can be done as a small isolated network of Anarcho-syndicalists? From the outset the meeting was billed as an open discussion of ideas, etc. with no emphasis on organization building (or at least on the part of many). However we felt that the discussions were not complete so it was decided to publish an internal newsbulletin to take up where we left off. We also agreed to meet again at a future date.

Since a number of the groups attending are engaged in solidarity activities with underground Anarcho-syndicalists in Latin America it was decided to organize a formal solidarity center, the Libertarian Aid for Latin America. The L.A.L.A. is presently in the process of gathering information so it can publish a newsbulletin. We also plan to raise money and the Autonomy Collective shall co-ordinate fundraising in Canada. The LWG will do the same in the United States. If comrades want to send donations they can begin to now. We invite other anarchist groups to set up a Libertarian Aid for Latin America committee in their area.

What impressed this correspondent the most about the participants was that nearly all were workers engaged in practical shop-floor activity. Secondly the level of activity of several groups was rather impressive. Although this article dealt in detail with a few items it should be mentioned that we discussed other issues in one way, shape or form such as working class feminism, anti-draft, anti-nuke, Polish workers solidarity, disarmament and El Salvador.

Critically speaking the meeting was too short. Many issues were left to be discussed. As had occurred in the Anarchist Communist Federation comrades didn't come prepared with position papers which made the discussions longer and at times too generalized. Then of course there was the lack of representation of comrades from different regions and the small turnout. A clear indication that our movement is still in the embryonic stages.

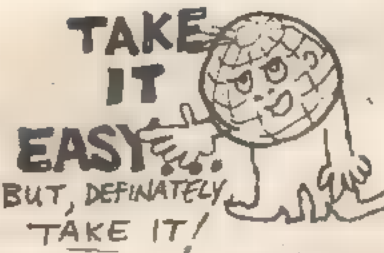


INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ASSOCIATION

STELCO

Continued from Pg. 5

our strike. As well the union has invited the participation of the Hamilton Working Women's organization. Attempts are also being made to form a city-wide strike support committee.



The first result of this activity was an educational night for strikers wives and friends on September 24 followed by a women's solidarity march on September 27th which drew over 1000 sympathizers to the picket lines to bolster the strike. It gave us all an inkling of the power we can bring to bear by opening our strike up to all our allies. Only by combining our forces and energy can we win our struggle.

Also in line with this organizational consolidation of the strike has been the collection of funds from our fellow workers. They have been very generous. And we have had the chance to talk about our strike and its meaning for all of us through this activity. Even non-union plants have given us solid support. Dofasco workers, for example, had donated almost \$40,000 by October in only two collections at their gates. That's a fund-raising record for the labour movement in Canada.

One thing to be learned from this strike has to be the interplay of the class war and the increased strength of our social organization — its renewed enthusiasm and dedication. As our strike grows more militant with each battle against the employers, their police and bureaucrats, we have seen the determination and conviction of the strikers increase apace. Regardless of the outcome of this particular skirmish, for many, this strike indicates the process which is giving birth to a new society in the womb of the old.

Class and Culture Part 3:

Anatomy of a Party

By B. Newbold

There is much to be learned about the current political situation in North America by an examination of In Struggle! (IS!). A product of the 'October Crisis' in 1970, when the War Measures Act was imposed, this Canadian Marxist-Leninist organization's trajectory describes much of what is best and worst in contemporary social organization.

The Marxist-Leninist group In Struggle! (IS!) is active in the union movement and several popular organizations. Their style of public activity is not particularly sectarian though their propaganda can be a little heavy on jargon. Within mass organizations IS! argues for the development of a vanguard party to oppose the middle class. By this practice they recruit the more receptive members of cross-class alliances.

IS! maintains a study group network through which new recruits are "educated" in the views of the organization via the paper and later the classical works of Marx and Lenin. The probationers may then be invited to join.

IS! is composed mostly of students, a few intellectuals and an impressive contingent of workers. At present its membership numbers, perhaps, 500 to 750 people. It is safe to say they have not been firmly established outside Quebec. In Quebec IS! may flourish due to its tactical flexibility, but at present their membership, like those of other Leninist groups, is stagnating. Also, the circulation of their paper in Quebec is declining.

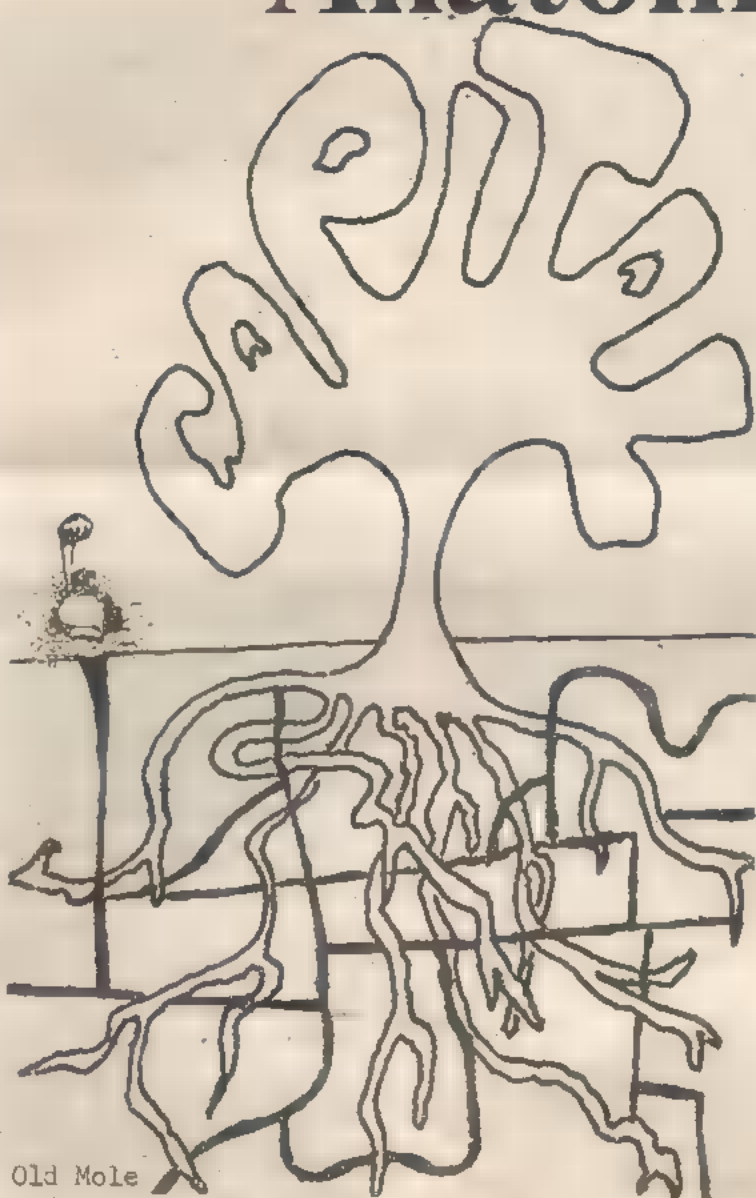
However, with political setbacks, like the referendum vote, for the chief democratic party, the PQ, we could see a split in that organization and it just might be IS! that benefits, in terms of membership, in that event because of their similar social compositions.

This would also seem to be the way IS! itself sees the situation. For example IS! attributes its development, in part, to the moderation of the PQ and its *fundamentally bourgeois character*. The IS! organization has also attracted new members making common cause with IS! against media red baiting and job discrimination against communists. This suggests that IS! could appeal to more class conscious elements in the PQ.

The basic organizational unit of IS! is the local cell. This is internally specialized and collectively subordinate to the regional centre. The regional bodies of IS! are four in number. They are the Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario and the West. These regional bodies are responsible in turn to a national central committee. Between sessions of the central committee the political bureau is responsible for decision making. Charles Gagnon is the general secretary of the central committee and is responsible to the general membership congresses of IS! which "in theory" are the highest level of the organization. The last general membership congress was held in 1978.

As of March, 1980, there were 26 local cells in IS! judging by IS!'s newspaper contact list. Among other things these cells organize reader circles and distribute newspapers. Each cell must have at least three members. There are no factory cells to my knowledge.

IS! notes that its membership is fifty percent female. I think this is supportable given their May Day contingents composition at Montreal in 1980. And it is well to recall the



Old Mole

number of members in IS! who joined the organization after its participation in the fight against day-care cut-backs at Montreal in 1974. This undoubtedly would increase female membership.

UNIFORMITY

The primary criterion for membership in IS! is complete adherence to the programme of the organization. There is no right of organized tendencies in IS! once a decision has been reached by the given organizational level. But then how can the programme embrace the constant and organic flux of the thought and action of the class as a whole? The fear that the organization might sacrifice its communist character by allowing the formation of tendencies shows that even now there are large numbers of communists that do not place sufficient trust in "correct" theory, in the view that the self-knowledge of the proletariat is a knowledge of its objective situation at a given stage of historical development, and in the *final goal* as present dialectically in every slogan of the day when seen from a revolutionary point of view. It shows that they still frequently follow the sects by acting for the proletariat instead of letting their actions advance the real process by which class consciousness evolves — through open debate and criticism. This would seem to support the hypothesis that parties with extra-parliamentary origins are internally more oligarchic than parties with parliamentary origins. I would suggest that this elitist characteristic is based on the opposition between head and hand labour in modern society. Those in our society who administer, market and direct tend to bring their authoritarian work methods into the combinations they have joined historically. One method by which we might examine the political characteristics of IS! further is their newspaper. As IS! points out this ... *must become our main instrument of agitation, propaganda and organization*. The newspaper is the political link

between the organizational and financial activities of IS!.

IS!'s major campaigns in the paper have been against what they call the *crisis measures*. These measures include wage controls. They have also intervened in the debate on the national question in Quebec. They argued this was in line with their overall strategy of uniting the proletariat by fighting chauvinism and nationalism.

At present IS! has a weekly newspaper issued in French and English editions. Until April, 1978, it was published twice a month. In addition IS! can now afford to publish a journal on theoretical matters about every two months.

Since 1976, four years after the newspaper commenced publication, IS! has engaged in popular work to broaden the influence of their protest strategy. The newspaper has been their major means of communicating with militants in different mass organizations. Hence circulation of the newspaper has received considerable attention from the organization.

At its third congress in 1978 IS!'s central committee reported:

From September, 1974 (the newspaper's second year of publication) to September, 1976, distribution statistics remained approximately the same, with ups and downs fluctuating between 1800 and 3200 on special occasions like May Day and IWD (International Women's Day). But from September, 1976 to September, 1977 distribution doubled. The call issued by the central leadership during the spring of 1977 was not left unanswered, because from September, 1977 to March, 1978, distribution doubled again.

In other words present circulation of the newspaper could average more than ten thousand copies a weekly issue or about 520,000 copies a year. If IS! received the regular .25¢ price for each paper, present yearly revenue from the paper could be as much as \$130,000.

Distribution of the newspaper seems to be concentrated on door to door sales and shopping plazas. There does not seem to be much emphasis on selling the paper at factory gates.

While admitting that their interventions against wage controls and the after affects were largely unsuccessful between 1975 and 1979 and that their campaign for Quebec self-determination was unorganized they believe that this has lead them to more clearly focus on the public sector work-force cut-backs as the key to solving the question of what tactic will unite the working class in Canada and Quebec. As they put it:

As a result of all these difficulties, we have more recently adopted a more correct attitude in our activities of agitation and propaganda. Support for the postal workers struggle and, more generally speaking, for public sector workers is well underway. The newspaper, which is distributed more extensively and systematically among the workers of this sector, reports regularly on what is at stake in the struggle. And indeed, it has been through their political work in calling for the defense of public sector workers that IS! acquired and has cultivated support as well as making enemies among market unionists who prefer to limit activities to collective bargaining.

Attacked by McDermott

It was IS!, according to Dennis McDermott, which organized calls for his resignation, with the aid of the newspaper, in the fall of 1979. Mr. McDermott according to the Spectator, said both CUPE (Canadian Union of Public Employees) and the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) accommodate Marxist-Leninists. Mr. McDermott was referring to possible motives for his censure by the CUPE national convention in October, 1979.

During the convention The Ottawa Journal reported:

... speaker after speaker rose to denounce McDermott, on grounds that he turned his back on the postal workers, acts like a company boss and wears diamonds on his hands while other union leaders go to jail.

Soon thereafter Grace Hartman, President of CUPE, repudiated this decision of the membership claiming that it was not sponsored by the national executive of CUPE. Cliff Pilkey concluded that the resolution against the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) President was the work of Marxist-Leninists within labour's ranks. Mr. Pilkey, who is the president of the Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL), added at a news conference that "they are a fairly influential force, though few in number..." Mr. Pilkey was speaking just prior to the OFL general convention and only a few days after IS! had taken out an ad in The Globe and Mail with a text reading: "McDermott has reason to be upset read: Dump McDermott!"

Dump the bourgeois policy in trade unions! (signed) Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada In Struggle!"

The use of the newspaper as a vehicle whereby IS! hinders the effectiveness of the police, as in the case of the postal workers' campaign we just outlined, shows IS!'s organizational activity and its finances for that activity.

IS! continued its demands for defense of public sector workers up to the CLC convention at Winnipeg in May, 1980. And the organization deserves at least some of the credit for the CLC's new ... resolve to achieve its goals as the Spectator noted, "as well as protect unions, through collective action to be spearheaded by the Congress." This is because it provided a platform for public sector labour activists and facilitated communication between unionists which has hindered the threat of the political police in so far as the federal government party did not attempt to repress CUPW in spring, 1980, negotiations. In turn this work may radicalize more members of the labour movement and bring more support to IS! However IS! must also share the blame for the short-comings of this strategy chief among which is only blaming McDermott rather than pointing out CUPW's lack of consultation with the labour movement as a whole on the specific types of solidarity required to prevent government interference.

While the newspaper activity constitutes the anatomy of IS!'s organization it is also true that it provides the means of financing the group. We have discussed newspaper sales revenues but this does not exhaust the topic of financing since the newspaper can also be used to conduct fund-raising appeals.

In August, 1978, IS! launched its first, and until 1981, only mass fund raising appeal via the newspaper. In the next two months IS! hoped to raise \$60,000 in order to allow the newspaper to stay weekly. About two weeks later \$5255.00 had been contributed to the campaign. By October 3, 1978, the campaign had rolled up donations to the tune of \$81,934.00. This success prompted an extension of the fund raising campaign. By the end of the campaign on October 31, 1978, a total of \$143,767.00 had been collected for newspaper activity.

Fund raising tactics had included a "red lottery" in Halifax, appearances at county fairs in Quebec and fund raising forums throughout the country. In its analysis of the campaign the editors of IS! noted that around \$119,000.00 had been raised in Quebec with another \$24,000.00 coming from English Canada. The members of IS! accounted for about 40 percent of total campaign contributions. The rest came in the form of small donations, many from workers in Quebec. See Party Pg. 15



A Reply:

Trashing the Prison Movement

by: Ron Reed

When a number of anti-authoritarian prison activists received an anonymous open letter titled 'A Challenge to Anarchists and the Prison Movement', we found it to be soaked with lies, distortions and slander. What could have been a constructive criticism read like it was written by the pigs in an effort to isolate us.

Was the trashing successful? Well, **Strike!** reprinted it! What's going on!? Our response concerns points made by the article and the bankruptcy of numerous anti-authoritarians.

The Contemporary Prison Movement

The article says that the left has devoted a disproportionately large amount of time and energy to the prison movement. I only wish it were true. In fact only a small number of people and groups are active.

It then goes on to say that the prison movement is characterized by, 'uncritical idolatry, slavish devotion, emotional and physical rape, and insane violence, manipulation and brutality.' These are rather exaggerated experiences that myself and other anti-prison activists I know of have never had. Look maybe the author is referring to the Bay area scene some years back, I'm not familiar with it, but it's fallacious to make such outrageous generalizations.

Sure we need criticism. Shit, we need help! We readily admit that the anti-prison struggle is difficult and unpopular despite all the lip service given to it.

So we get into a vicious circle. Outsiders will avoid the prison struggle because they don't see a glorious organized prisoner resistance to work with — because such prisoner resistance is impossible without effective outside support protecting them from retaliatory action by the state.

Anti-prison work often demands emotional support to those inside — something the left, especially most men, fear. It deals with people in our own society — not in the third world — whose reality is too weird for many of us to face. So they are left in the grip of our state.

Some prisoners are real creeps, but ruling class conditioning paints all prisoners with the same brush. This conditioning says prisoners are violent beasts, but in fact, 80% are doing time for non-violent crimes. The article reinforces this myth.

Most prisoners I know are likable people just trying to be human inside an institution of punishment. (Hmm, they're not so different from outsiders.)

The author ends up by saying, 'The prison movement is a dead end. We must seek our solutions elsewhere. It's time for us on the outside to look at the society in which we work and live.' This is a swift contradiction from the beginning which said, 'make no mistake about it. We are absolutely committed to the abolition of all prisons.'

Anti-prison work-vs-other personal and social struggles? When you get right down to it, it's really all the same thing: people wanting to overcome the forces fucking them over.

and get some happiness, loving, respect and justice. All movements can be dead ends if they are isolated from each other.

I like the anti-prison struggle because of the impressively high quality of people involved. Surprised? Because prisons, crime and the people involved are community concerns, and as a friend says, 'it's the best fight in town!'

Prisoner Assassination

The poison pen then goes to work on George Jackson and Carl Harp. Prisoners who are upfront in the struggle need all the support they can get to protect them from the state's revenge. You people at **Strike!** know this! You also knew they wanted Carl Harp silenced. Where is your responsibility to militant prisoners in danger? Harp wasn't the only one. At least two other militants are on a hit list in Walla Walla penitentiary alone. (More later.)

Look, the state is obviously willing to kill prison militants. Next it will be radicals outside. (Keep printing that stuff and the state will probably fund you.)

Doesn't that mean something to you, or are you just going to print more obituaries when they get wiped out too? Now that the pigs killed Harp, we'll probably witness the spectacle of you self-righteously blaming the state. What about your own collaboration in isolating him?

That the article trashes a revolutionary like George Jackson by quoting dirt from *New West* magazine should be suspect immediately. I'm sorry I don't know enough about Jackson to refute the digs, but a prisoner from Jackson's prison, San Quentin, said he was unaware that Jackson was at the centre of the prison rackets.

I'm convinced the author had no contact with Carl Harp because the 'facts' presented are straight from the state and bourgeois media. With a little investigation, which you can't be forgiven for skipping, you would have come up with the following refutation. I quote the article:

1) The only unifying bond of those who acclaimed his diary *Love and Rage* is that none have any direct contact with him ... (False) or even know why he is in prison.

The intro to *Love and Rage* explains why.

2) In western Washington, he managed to totally isolate himself from most of his direct support.

But I know of people and groups there who support him. I also know of others that don't for the same reasons as the author of the trashing article.

3) (Harp) was simply a rapist with an arm-long record of two-bit violent and sexual crimes, and the Bellevue Sniper who killed one man and crippled another.

Slander of the lowest kind. Following the Bellevue sniping, the state blew their case against the real guilty party. So they grabbed Carl Harp who became involved after the sniping by hiding the gun. He pled innocent, but was quickly tried and convicted. The evidence was a positive fingerprint on the trigger. It was later proved that the state's fingerprint

expert lied, because the print could not be positively identified as Harp's.

At the same time, the rape charges were dumped on Harp. He knew the hysteria now surrounding him would never allow for an acquittal, so he pleaded insane hoping to get a reduced sentence. However, his conscience got to him and he reversed the plea to innocent. He was convicted nevertheless.

With the rape convictions, one of Washington's best attorneys handling his appeal felt he had a good chance of winning because of inconclusive sperm tests; the physical events of the rapes seem unlikely; divergent testimony by the two victims; one of the victims informally recanted her version, but before a legal declaration could be obtained, changed her mind (under pressure?) and the hysteria surrounding the trial precluded an unbiased verdict.

Also Harp got another ten years for possessing a weapon. It was an antique gun that his parole officer told the judge she gave him permission to have. Harp received a total of ninety years to life.

Before those four convictions, Harp had never been implicated in a sexual crime. The frame-up outraged

Carl Harp, turning him from a wild kid to a revolutionary prisoner.

4) In an interview, Harp admitted to having raped the two women, saying 'I'm not sorry I did it, but I'm sorry it occurred.'

People from Seattle's Left Bank Bookstore checked this interview out and found the quote didn't refer to the supposed rapes at all.

5) The idea of Carl Harp as an authentic anarchist hero ... is an idea that makes us physically ill, and makes us doubt the sanity of some of our comrades.

This of course is a loaded statement that can't be directly argued. I'll let the rebel history of Carl Harp stand for itself to explain why I think he was one of the few revolutionaries today in America who deserved the label. As for doubting our sanity, well you're on the right track. I always suspected Harp was insane until he finally admitted it to me. Anyone who resisted to the very end with a vivacious spirit of love and rage under eight years of maximum security torture without burning out or cracking up isn't too normal. I myself strive towards insanity because it's the best condition for revolutionary spontaneity.

You've read this far, so how about exercising some support to help save these brothers. As a minimum, write letters demanding: 1) the immediate transfer of Robert Shane Graen 628148 out of Walla Walla Pen to a federal prison. 2) The effective protection of Benny Washington and other prisoners threatened by prison staff. 3) The removal of all guards associated with a hit squad, including those originally fired in 1979 for brutalizing Carl Harp who were reinstated. 4) An immediate and complete investigation into the death of Carl Harp and the role of the guards inside the pen.

Send the letters to Amos Reed, Director of Adult Corrections, and to Gov. John Spellman. Both are at Olympia, Wa. 98504. Also, write (Walla Walla) Supt. Kastema, P.O. Box 520, Walla Walla, Wa. 99362 USA.

Remember, the state is building more prisons. If you want to find out about resistance to the (in) justice system, write the publications below. But don't leave us alone to fight. We don't need cheerleaders nearly as much as we need allies.

Prison News Contact

Anarchist
Black Dragon
C/O CP 2, succ.
La Cite
Montreal, Quebec
H2W 2M9 Canada

Odyssey Newsletter
Milhaven Penitentiary
Box 180 Bath, Ont.
KOH 1G0 Canada
Canada

Sub. Cost

Prisoners - Free
Outsiders - Contribution

\$4 for six issues

Bulldozer

Box 5052, Stn. 'A'
Toronto, Ont.,
Canada M5W 1A4W
Tightwire
C/O Kingston Prison for Women
Box 515 Kingston,
Ont., Canada
K7L 4W7

Florida Clearing House on Criminal Justice Newsletter
222 W. Pensacola St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32301 USA

Prisoners -

Free
Outsiders - Contribution
Unknown

Florida Prisoners - Only

HAPOTOC (Help Prisoners - Free a Prisoner Outlaw Torture Organizing Committee)

P.O. Box 10638,
1001 EP Amsterdam Holland.

This article is endorsed by:

The Bulldozer Collective
United Family and Friends of Prisoners
Box 22094
Seattle, Wa. 98122

Prisoners' Rights Group
3965 Pandora St.
Burnaby, B.C.



Carl Harp: Prison militant and libertarian revolutionary.

New from Charlatan Stew

We'd like everyone to know that Charlatan Stew has moved to Seattle. Our new address is P.O. Box 31461, Wallingford Station, Seattle, Wa. 98103. We are currently circulating "Origin and Function of the Party Form (1962)", a pamphlet by Jacques Camatte and Gianni Collu (\$1.00), bumper stickers saying "Made By Modern Slaves", "Warning: This Society is Dangerous to Your

Health and Happiness", and "This Year's Election Choice: Constipation or Diarrhea" (free except for 25¢ postage). We are also publishing, together with Left Bank Publishing Project, a 1982 Anti-Authoritarian Calendar (\$4.00 each, 50% off for five or more copies plus 50¢ postage). Anyone who is interested in receiving any of these things and/or being on our mailing list should drop us a line.

Continued from Pg. 1

usual. In an attempt to silence Carl the state did not try him for the hostage seizure as he repeatedly demanded, instead awarding him \$7,000 for putting him in segrega-

tion over a year. He had recently succeeded in transferring back to Walla Walla and was preparing new initiatives when he was cut down presumably to inhibit the growing campaign against rigid and inflexible penal conditions. But you can't

kill a cause by callously snuffing out one member of it. The state's murder of Carl Harp must only strengthen the resolve of the movement to fight back!

More Letters More Letters More

SLANDEROUS

Dear Strike:

We consider your decision to publish the slanderous attacks on Carl Harp in your last issue's article on prisoners to be reprehensible, particularly in light of his subsequent death, but we won't press the matter since we assume you are looking for a well-deserved hole to crawl into.

It may interest you to know that we declined to print the article since the authors insisted on retaining the material about Harp which was obviously taken from police and media reports.

Why don't you consider making your next name change to "Out of Business"?

THE FIFTH ESTATE STAFF



BRIXTON CALLING

Dear Strike!

By the time I send this, I'll have enclosed the cost of a subscription. I can find fault with that paper, but just let me congratulate you on making eleven issues, finding very good news stories and not getting tied-up in useless 'dialogue' with trots.

I've just read the tomato article in No. 10 and advise you that EEC regulations on plant varieties may be worse. They have already outlawed at least one variety that is disease resistant (Bedford onion) and another that has no near alternative (Royal Burgundy french beans). The EEC is so bad that nearly all of us have some score to hate it.

But enough of that, I'd like to offer some info for publication: I live in Brixton and it wasn't too nice being a few minutes from the scene of the riots. Also we know something much more violent is in the cards — the riots took days to vent the immediate bad feelings. Now the police are busy firing more community resentment. Their behavior has worsened while Judge Scarman is conducting an enquiry into 'policing'.

This enquiry is gradually bringing out the facts ... Police armed with pick-ax handles, incompetent use of police dogs and crass stupidity on the part of supervisory policemen.

But your article is way off mark on many counts. The 'black' school teacher, Blair Peach, was of part-Maori extraction and probably murdered by a police walkie-talkie radio!

Definitely Brixton police don't have 'armoured trucks' ... just coaches, minibuses, vans and saloon cars. Some of these carry police heavies, the thugs of the special patrol group, but only rarely are they attacked so armour-plate would be a luxury.

Further you make no mention of one of the aims of the riots. True, harassment, etc., was the cause, but one failure of the riots was to burn down the cop-shop. On the Saturday night — the most violent time — the police were shaking several deep around the main police station (proudly displaying the slogan 'Help Fight Crime').

Two pubs were burnt to the ground, one was anti-gay. Many shops were looted and/or burned. Police vehicles were overturned and set alight.

Police claim the riots were or-

chestrated by 'outside agitators'. They still haven't substantiated this idea, although thousands of cops came from outside.

Riots have since occurred in other parts of the country. Recently trouble was stirred by fascist youths

in an Asian community. But there's no sign of any change in police attitudes unless it's less tolerance and imagination.

Fraternally,
J. Turner
London, England



PATCO

Continued from Pg. 16

way on these issues, the union held a 4 day job action. As can be expected, the government's reaction was harsh and swift. A federal judge fined PATCO \$100,000.

And so for the PATCO strikers their struggle is not a new one. After 11 years of presenting demands, going to mediation, being told to be patient, voting for Reagan in '80 because he wrote a letter in support of the air controllers' cause, and finally holding 38 meetings with government officials prior to the strike, the controllers finally said "ENOUGH!" A 20 to 1 vote in favor of striking is a clear indication of the controllers' anger.

RIGHT TO STRIKE

Unlike Canadian federal workers, U.S. federal employees do not have the right to strike. And, as noted earlier, the air controllers are federal employees.

On August 6, President Reagan, under a 1971 Supreme Court decision, fired 12,000 striking air traffic controllers. As simple as that, 12,000 workers were fired who were attempting to bring to a just end to what turned out to be an 11 year struggle.

This brings to light a larger question. And that is can and will workers let the government use anti-worker laws to bust their struggles? With a recently expanding public sector, this question is that much more relevant.

What the use of such anti-worker laws mean for the striking controllers is that the government has the "right" to jail and secretly indict union reps, freeze \$3.5 million in strike funds, levy fines of more than \$110 million, fire 12,000 workers and decertify PATCO out of existence.

For 34 years U.S. workers have been saddled with anti-worker laws. Laws that affect both the public and private sector. In 1947 the infamous Taft-Hartley Act was passed, and naturally the labor bureaucracy did little to fight it. Taft-Hartley denied federal workers the right to strike. In 1955, to add insult to injury, Congress passed additional measures that are now being used to break the will and determination of the strikers. These laws not only outlaw strikes, there are also provisions for anti-strike injunctions, giving the courts the power to fine. It established a 60 day cooling off period during which strikes may not be declared. It outlaws mass picketing, prohibits secondary boycotts and encourages the passage of state anti-union "right-to-work" laws.

In the true spirit of class collabor-

ation, the union bureaucracy has also worked to take away the rank and file's right to strike. Since the 1950's such unions as the Steelworkers and the Autoworkers, to name two, have given up the rank and file's right to strike. Or in other cases the labor bureaucracy has openly broken rank and file strikes.

True to the spirit and foundation that a real workers' movement is based on, workers in the last decade have begun to reclaim the right to strike and the right to control their own struggles. In 1970, 152,000 postal workers rejected Taft-Hartley and wildcatted. In '78, rank and file mine workers conducted one of the finest, longest struggles against their bosses, the government, and union bureaucrats. In their struggle the miners defied the government and told them what to do with Taft-Hartley — successfully no less! Unfortunately the 1980 New York City transit strike was broken due to both the failure of the bureaucracy to stand up to the Taylor Law (New York State version of Taft-Hartley) and the lack of rank and file unity.

Following in the historical footsteps of the previous workers struggles, the air controllers are waging a fight not only for decent wages, better conditions and shorter hours. They are waging a fight against state intervention in the affairs of workers. Even though the state is the controllers' boss, the controllers are saying that the state has no right to stop them from withdrawing their labor power when grievances are not met. They're saying the right to strike is the right to stand up in their own interests. And

by standing up and directly confronting the state the air controllers are defending the rights of all U.S. workers to strike. And as workers, myself and every other worker knows that our only weapon is the strike. However, the bottom line is not a question of legal rights, but of class power.

SOLIDARITY FOREVER?

Despite the \$300,000 Family Fund set up by the AFL-CIO, despite the call for solidarity by Federation head Lane Kirkland and countless other union bureaucrats, real solidarity has not been shown.

In spite of the fact that organized labor "leaders" are calling Reagan's actions an open attack on the labor movement, the leadership of those unions directly servicing the airports and airlines have refused to call their membership out on strike. Only through a general strike in the air service industry will the controllers win their strike. Financial support is only good to a point, when PATCO's picket lines are crossed day in and day out. And when the air lines planes are still being serviced, the strike can only be partially effective.

It unfortunately seems that solidarity of this sort has never been an appealing tactic for the labor bureaucracy. It certainly says a lot about the U.S. labor bureaucracy when it was the Canadians and the Europeans who struck — limited as it was — in solidarity with the striking controllers. And to top it off, Lane Kirkland sanctioned scabbing in a recent letter to all AFL-CIO affiliates. "I personally think" he wrote, "that the trade union movement should not undertake any-

thing that would represent punishing, injuring or inconveniencing the public at large for the sins or the transgressions of the Reagan administration."

Who would a general strike inconvenience? Now with the summer vacation season over the only inconvenience would be to the business community. Such a strike might also inconvenience the labor bureaucrats as well. The power that would be unleashed would be incredible. The mighty weight of a general strike might give the rank and file ideas for the future. That is, to use the general strike each time one segment of the industry doesn't attain a decent contract. And, naturally, such rank and file actions would make the bureaucracy "unreasonable" in the eyes of management.

A perfect example of this is the International Association of Machinists (I.A.M.) bureaucracy, whose members comprise all airline mechanics and a good percentage of airport service workers. The San Jose, California Local of the I.A.M. adopted a resolution asking president William Winpisinger — a man who calls himself a "socialist" — to call for shutting down major airports for 48 hours. A real socialist would not hesitate to call a solidarity strike, however Winpisinger never responded.

BUREAUCRATIC CHEAP TALK

Ironically enough, for the past year U.S. workers have heard nothing but praise by the union bureaucrats for Poland's Solidarity union. Some bureaucrats have even made the analogy that PATCO's struggle is similar to Solidarity's. That is, a workers' struggle against the state. And to a large extent the bureaucrats' analogy is on target. However it's quite ludicrous for the bureaucrats to make such statements. Poland's Solidarity was born out of a strike movement. A workers movement capable of declaring a general strike that would be supported by over 10 million workers.

The simple fact is when it's not in the bureaucrats' self-interests, such as Poland, they can hail all the strikes they want. But when it comes to the good old U.S.A., knock, knock, no one is home.

WORKERS' POWER

Clearly this strike could be immediately won if an industry-wide general strike were called. Barring the support of the bureaucrats, it is up to

the rank and file to take the initiative.

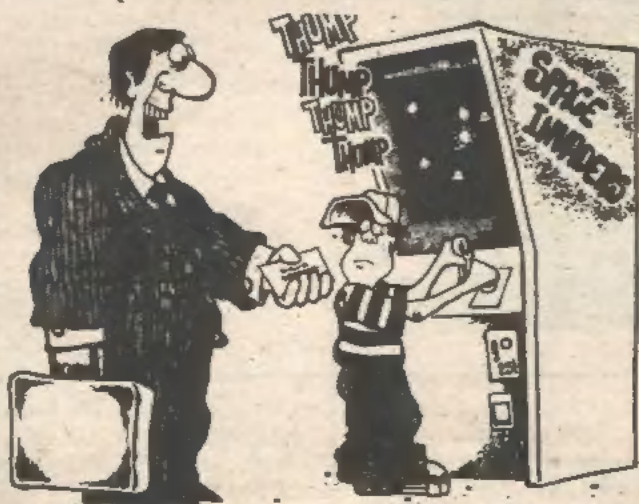
Not only is this strike a life and death struggle for a small segment of the workforce, it also marks a new phase in the class struggle. A phase in which the capitalist state has openly declared war on the workers.

Notwithstanding the general struggle of the air controllers there are positive aspects of this strike we should point out. It took a state offensive against the workers to teach many PATCO strikers that workers, the state, politicians and bosses have two sets of interests. If anything the state can claim credit for developing class consciousness amongst a good many strikers.

Secondly, this strike has shown many PATCO members that their support for political parties and politicians means little. Even with PATCO's support for Reagan, Reagan has launched a vicious struggle against them. However before we credit the Democrats remember it was during the Democratic administration of Harry Truman that the Taft-Hartley Act was passed. Likewise the Democratic "friends of labor" in Congress and on the state and even the local level have either taken a hands off attitude or else back Reagan's actions 100%.

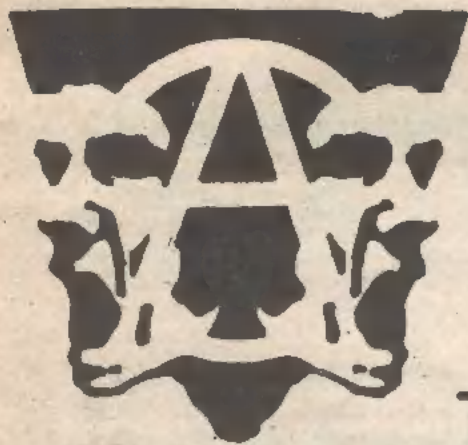
Clearly then, we see little use in workers supporting either capitalist party, nor do we support the idea of a labor party. The latter being controlled by the same bureaucrats who refuse to call their membership out on a solidarity strike with PATCO. What should be clear to any rank and file worker is the potential economic power that we can exert as a class. The power to not only stop services and production, but the power to also smash anti-worker laws. A clear self-recognition of this power and the revolutionary potential of it is important if the working class is to abolish capitalism and the state.

It is my opinion that the air controllers' strike may be a small step in that direction.



"Hi, there, Q. DUNLEY DUNBAR, FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION. HAVE YOU EVER CONSIDERED A CAREER AS AN AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLER?"





Libertarian Notes

STILL HAILING RED ARMY IN AFGHANISTAN?

As the second anniversary of the December, 1979, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan approaches it is clear that the expected "easy victory" has become a very messy little war. What was intended as a "mopping up" operation has evolved into a costly guerilla war which has claimed the lives of 10,000 Soviet soldiers. As it turns out even the invasion itself, which looked so impressive on the 6 o'clock news, was mismanaged from the start.

The ubiquitous Soviet tank, which had proved its usefulness in crushing dissent in Eastern Europe, proved to be something of a liability in a mountainous nation with a practically non-existent road system. So after driving them up and down the main drags of various Afghan cities they were shipped back to the socialist motherland in exchange for helicopter gunships which are much more efficient at killing Afghan peasants. The Central Asian troops, who formed the core of the initial invasion force, were found to be politically unreliable and they too were shipped back in exchange for ethnic Russian troops.

So what do the Russians have to show for their 22 month sojourn? The answer is — less than nothing. Those Marxist illiterates who claim that the invasion was objectively "good for the people" are to be complimented on their total disregard of the empirical evidence. The Russians manage to maintain a tenuous day-time grip on the major urban centres but, in the countryside of this overwhelmingly rural nation, the bride-price, the veil and ignorance remain firmly entrenched. The indigeneous socialist elements, few as they were in Afghanistan, have been crushed beneath the boots of the Red Army. In its footsteps a rabidly anti-socialist nationalism has arisen that will make the re-emergence of a socialist current in Afghanistan a near impossibility for at least a generation. Hail Red Army.

DEM' BONES, DEM' BONES DEM' DRY BONES

The traffic in dead heroes, always a favourite activity of the world's many and various states, took a rather bizarre turn recently when the Costa Rican government asked Nicaragua to return the earthly remains of Juan Santamaria to his native soil. Santamaria had died a hero's death in 1856 battling U.S. mercenaries who had seized control of Nicaragua and, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of his birth, the Costa Ricans decided it would be nice to put him on display at the museum named in his honour.

The Nicaraguans, anxious to build good relations with their neighbors, dutifully exhumed a selection of bones from the mass grave where Santamaria and 137 of his comrades had been buried and ceremoniously dispatched them to Costa Rica. Unfortunately, a panel of Costa Rican archeologists concluded that the bones were in fact those of common farm animals. The embarrassed authorities tried to cover up the affair but the news leaked out scandalizing public opinion.

The Nicaraguan government huffily demanded the return of the disputed bones and the Costa Ricans quickly agreed, even going so far as to provide an honour guard to escort them to the airport, just to show there were no hard feelings. The local population, however, were not so obliging and when this odd cortege, with the Nicaraguan ambassador in tow, pulled up to the museum to retrieve the bones it was confronted by a large and vocal crowd which mooed like cows as the bones were carried out.

The Nicaraguans still insist that the bones are indeed those of Mr. Santamaria and the enraged ambassador later declared that the whole affair was "a maneuver by Costa Rican rightists to cause a confrontation and destabilize our government." The box of bones, covered with flowers and a Nicaraguan flag, was flown back to Managua where it lay in state before being

re-interred in the churchyard from which the bones had been taken.

YOU'RE FIRED — COMRADE

When China recently attempted to lure Taiwan back into the mainland's bosom the Taiwanese leadership retorted that such a move could only take place if the Peking clique "gave up the communist system." Well, they might not have long to wait. One of the more endearing traits of Maoist China was the attempt to organize production without resorting to the Taylorist techniques of "scientific management" so beloved by their comrades to the north. That situation, however, is rapidly changing. The concept of the "iron rice bowl," a metaphor for a lifetime job guarantee, has been replaced by the "porcelain rice bowl" and porcelain, unlike iron, has a habit of breaking.

The "iron rice bowl," once hailed as proof positive of the superiority of Chinese socialism, is now to be relegated to a rapidly growing scrap-heap that already includes people's power and workers' revolution. Factory managers will now be able to officially fire "malcontents, laggards and chronic truants." Flinging them in to the now officially recognized reserve army of the unemployed estimated to number between 10 to 20 million.

China's drift towards the full restoration of a market economy is now picking up such a head of steam that we shouldn't be too surprised if Taiwan makes the next re-unification overture. Keep up the good work — "comrades."

KONSPIRACY KAPERS

"Conspiracy against the state" is a familiar charge. In Greece, England and West Germany such charges are often leveled at anarchists and extra-parliamentary leftists. Now it seems the Italian government is putting it to use: Francesco Piperno, currently held in custody in Canada pending extradition hearings to Italy, is accused by the Italian government with "armed insurrection against the powers of the state". Piperno who was in Canada on holidays lives in France where he works as a physicist. He was cleared two years ago of charges relating to terrorist incidents.

On April 7, 1979, homes throughout Italy were raided and 78 academics, artists, journalists all associated with left-wing politics were arrested. Their cases together with Piperno's who was one of the 78 charged and whom the French government has refused to extradite, is slated to begin in 1982 and is expected to last up to two years.

WIRED

A South Carolina bible school teacher has an unusual way of bringing home the word of god.

Young students must sit on a stool which has been wired and as the bible is read aloud, electric shocks are given to the children.

PARTY

Continued from Pg. 12

What this financing and the organization of IS! seem to point out most clearly is that IS! is weak nationally because it is relatively strong in Quebec. This influence in Quebec stems from the development of the independence movement there. And IS! is also bound by constraints similar to those of the independence movement. Because this group does not fight for the unity of the pan-Canadian working class by dividing the bourgeoisie through a theoretical argument for independence and socialism in the context of a practical attempt to end union sectoralism by syndicalist means it is confined to Quebec. The question really becomes why didn't socialists in Quebec orient more positively to the independence movement and vice versa. This can't be explained by facile personal slander or sly intimations of cowardice on the part of IS! Rather than these answers, the motivation for this anti-independence streak in the organization has to be sought in the economic basis of IS! Here a tentative answer can be found for the hesitations of the group — their strata's position within the working class as a whole. Whereas the class of social labour has all the characteristics of the commodity, including the uncertainties of day-to-day movements of the market, certain groups within the class lead an existence which appears more stable since it includes a well defined professionalism, responsibility as well as a sense of duty and also the abstract — possibility of an individual's elevating her or him-self into the ruling class. By such means a 'status-consciousness' is created that is calculated to inhibit effectively the growth of a class consciousness.



This applies nowhere more than to the ranks of today's left who, by and large, have been drawn from the civil service and the intelligensia and rely on that sector for funding. That is why in IS! we saw a campaign as contradictory as their petition to the Liberal Party calling for them to make the nations and languages of Quebec and Canada equal instead of calling for independence and socialism through working class activity. That petition campaign ignored the fact that any political equality is predicated on the class and property relationships which bind the production process and hence the class meanings attached to independence.

These IS! campaigns of resistance will not politically defeat the bourgeoisie. That objective requires a creative contestation by the working class against the state apparatuses.

We can examine how this is effectively brought about by reviewing the function of a revolutionary organization.

The task of a revolutionary organization is to produce more revolutionaries. The development of more revolutionaries is fostered by interfering with the police. We find such a tendency already at work in strikes. So how can we encourage them and generalize the fight against capital rather than merely resist it? The present evolution of these unions inhibits the federation of workers as a class. It splits them up according to technical, occupational and professional affiliations. Since the unions are grouped by industrial location they may be separated from the workplaces right next door because one produces steel and another provides

health care. This swamp could be opposed by recovering unions for their members. In Canada this struggle commonly takes the initial form of a fight for independent national unions and local autonomy from the international union offices. The best way for revolutionaries to make this struggle succeed is by encouraging strikes through acts of confrontation with the bosses at work. Confrontation tactics such as playfulness, health and safety campaigns energize the class war, get business unions to pack their bags and head for cover, maintain a firm wage floor, depress

the rate of profit and encourage the abolition of wage-labour creating a material basis for shortening the labour-day by intensifying the self-organization of the working class. This last feature of the class struggle is especially decisive insofar as more newly proletarianized layers are concerned because the key to enrolling them in fighting unions is the concentration of capital through strike action which will ensure that the workers no longer resist capital's manifold incursions so much as they finish its historical task and render it as obsolete as the horse and buggy.

Estimated Yearly Average Distribution & Revenue For the In Struggle! Newspaper 1974-1978

Period	Revenue	Distribution
Sept., 1974 to Sept., 1975	\$8,125.00	65,000
Sept., 1975 to Sept., 1976	\$8,125.00	65,000
Sept., 1976 to Sept., 1977	\$16,250.00	130,000
Sept., 1977 to March, 1978	\$16,250.00	130,000

Source: In Struggle! "Third Congress", p. 84.



We're on our way to the monthly STRIKE! To help us get there subscribe. Subscription rates are \$5.00 for individuals for one year (twelve issues) and \$10.00 for libraries, institutions and funded organizations. Overseas subs are \$7.00. STRIKE! is sent free to prisoners.

Make cheques payable to STRIKE! and send them to our new address: P.O. Box 284, Main Station, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada, L2R 6T7.

Patco Strike

By: Mike Harris

"Strike! Strike! Strike!" chanted 3,000 striking air traffic controllers at New York City's Labor Day parade. And with a similar militancy so did 200,000 New York City workers chant in the air controllers' support.

Since August 3, U.S. controllers — members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization — have been on strike because their employer, the United States government, has failed to come to terms with the unions' demands for a decent contract. Unlike other contracts that have expired in both the public and private sector, PATCO's demands transcend economic issues. The strike was originally over health and safety and economic issues. Now it has also become one over the right to strike.

SHORTER WORK WEEK

One of PATCO's central demands is for the 32 hour week. As it now stands U.S. air traffic controllers work a 40 hour week. Whereas controllers in other countries, recognizing the effects of stress caused by working a 40 hour week, work anywhere from 30 to 35 hours a week. In Canada, the controllers work 35 hours a week. Interestingly enough, PATCO's counterparts work less time than they do even though "controllers in the U.S." according to Gregory Pardlo of Local 283, Newark International Airport (N.J.), "work five times the traffic of any other country."

STRESS

The struggle for a shorter work week is even more important when one considers the cause for this demand. Because of the stress air controllers' suffer medical disorders at a much higher rate than the average worker. It is reported that 9 out of 10 controllers don't last to retirement.

"According to the Federal Aviation Administration's own figures, 89% of the controllers that have left air traffic in the last 3 years have done so under medical disability. The concept of the controllers going 25 years in a high density vicinity is ludicrous..." Pardlo said.



Imagine having to listen in your headset to a pilot in one ear, someone else talking in the other, and, writing and talking at the same time. Strange as it may seem that was the daily routine of countless controllers. As well as co-ordinating the flight pattern and landing of 15 to 20 aircraft at one time.

What this all added up too for the controllers' was an average of 7 years on the job before he/she "burnt out". This "burn out" is not only mental but physical as well. Air controllers' suffer from anything from peptic ulcers to heart failure. Some families were

even destroyed due to working rotating shifts.

CONTINUATION

The current strike is a continuation of earlier struggles to win the shorter work week, better health and safety conditions and modern equipment. In 1970 PATCO threatened to strike for the reasons listed above. However, the union backed down after government threats and an anti-strike injunction was ordered.

In 1978, determined to make head- See Patco Pg. 14

U.S. Postal Pact

By Mike Harris

With only slight waves made the bulk of U.S. postal workers have ratified a new three year contract.

A strike was avoided when the union negotiators extended the old contract past the 12:01 a.m. deadline on July 21, 1981. They had said earlier that they would extend the contract for only a few hours if there was some progression in the talks.

They had been mandated by their conventions to abide by a no contract-no work and to strike over the issue of an uncapped Cost of Living Adjustment. The uncapped COLA was won. Amnesty for the remaining 100 or so fired postal workers (from the 1978 job action) was also to be an issue. Unfortunately this was not the case.

The ratified contract falls short of what postal workers need or what the original demands were.

Contractually speaking the worst part of the agreement is the productivity clause. This trades jobs for money and pits older workers against younger workers.

According to the formula worked out in the contract the agreement would give postal workers salary increases of \$900 over three years plus bonuses totalling \$1,200. Interestingly enough, in an effort to buy postal workers off, the U.S. Postal Service offered a one time \$150 bonus for ratifying the agreement.

According to *Business Week*, American Postal Workers Union and National Alliance of Letter Carriers presidents Moe Biller and Vince Sombrotto respectively, along with Post Master General Bolger, realize that increased productivity is necessary to preserve the Postal Service from private enterprise and thus save jobs.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Over 74,000 jobs have been lost to increased productivity and 60,000 more are on the line as new electronic automation comes in.

Original union demands for the 35 hour week, double time for over time, an all regular workforce, amnesty for fired postal workers and an extension of the no-layoff clause were absolutely essential for preserving the jobs of union workers.

In the wake of what has happened to the PATCO strikers the union bureaucrats did not want to press the issues of amnesty or maternity or paternity leave or bereavement leave. A clause allowing a worker to refuse an unsafe job was not won or strongly pressed for.

In other words benefits and amnesty were traded for money. Ah yes, money is always the cure for the workers' problems!

Given the conditions the bureaucrats had to negotiate under it should be no surprise that the present contract is substandard. A lot

of workers refused to recapture the spirit of 1970 (when there was a national job-action). Certainly the firing of the PATCO workers also had a lot to do with the loss of combativeness on the part of the rank-and-file. And of course there is the problem that there was no network or organization of rank-and-file postal workers to press for further non-economic demands.

The existing rank-and-file organization at the Jersey City Bulk Mailing Center has, unfortunately, become a "loyal opposition" to the APWU bureaucracy. Rather than recapturing the spirit of '70 and '78 the Postal Workers Defence Committee has merely sat on its hands. Even though the PWDC was the militant voice of the fired postal workers they refused to press the issue this time around.

However, a strike could have been won. It doesn't take 100% support to win a strike if you're solid in key areas. New York City, Chicago, Detroit, the Bay Area and Miami were known to be more or less solid. It is exactly in these areas where a strike could have forced the hands of the U.S. Postal Service. Yet the rank-and-file organization was not there and so no job-actions were taken. It will be another three years of alienation, speed-ups and harassment for postal workers.

★★★★★★★★★★★★

Labour Pains

FALSE ASSURANCES

When Chrysler workers voted by a narrow margin to accept wage and benefit cuts earlier this year they did so believing UAW assurances that this would save their jobs. For 1200 workers at Chrysler's engine plant in Windsor, Ontario this must now appear to be a cruel hoax as they have just been indefinitely laid off.

These newly laid off Chrysler workers are joining 800 others from the same plant who have never been recalled. The worst of it is that most of these workers cannot qualify for unemployment insurance because they had not been back on the job long enough. With Supplementary Unemployment Benefit funds depleted long ago the choice becomes either welfare or trying your luck somewhere else in the country.

Since the austerity program at Chrysler took effect its employees have fallen behind other autoworkers employed by the Big Three by almost \$3.00 an hour in wages and benefits. By the time the present union contract expires this figure will have grown considerably higher thereby fueling demands by GM and Ford for a new contract to close the gap.

All the way around this belt tightening is proving disastrous for autoworkers everywhere of whom nearly 200,000 remain on layoff. With the beginning of negotiations for the next contract not far off autoworkers must demand gains for Chrysler workers to close the gap then zero in on cuts in the work week and other historic gains.

HISTORY REDISCOVERED?

The 1,700 employees of the Ford Motor Co. in Holland have a different approach to plant closings. They are restoring that once much practiced American method — the sitdown. While they occupy the plant in Amsterdam, the workers of other European unions assured them support by shutting off any deliveries or parts to the Ford plant in the Netherlands.

The sitdown type of strike originally came from some countries abroad, notably France. Its application on a mass scale in the U.S. was so powerful that it sparked the historic organizing sweep by the CIO during the 1930's. The most celebrated sitdown took place in GM's Fischer No. 1 plant in Flint, Mich., in defiance of injunctions, vigilante mobs and police ultimatums to vacate the plant. In the end the sitdown proved to be an effective weapon, the workers' won their demands.

The sitdown strike has been almost forgotten here in the U.S. Trade unions have become "respectable" (with the AFL leading the way since the last century) and have submitted to rules that a plant or office is private property, absolutely untouchable under capitalism. Meanwhile, plant shutdowns continue. Still the officialdom of American labor sits on its hands. As far as this worker is concerned, it is high time that American labor rediscovered its history, a history filled with scores of victories won only through the use of direct action.

SALARY HIKES FOR IBT BUREAUCRATS

The delegates to the recent convention of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) know as well as anyone that the cost of living is, and has been, rising steadily. So they voted their new President, Roy Lee Williams, a \$68,750 raise bringing his annual salary to \$225,000. They also voted Secretary-Treasurer Ray Scholesing a raise — \$75,000 — bringing his annual salary to \$200,000. And the union's international vice presidents were given annual pay increases of \$15,000 each. The convention also acted to make sure that none of the union hierarchs falls behind in the continuing race with the cost of living by guaranteeing them a cost-of-living adjustment every July 1 (starting in 1982) equal to each percentage rise in the Consumer Price Index. In addition, top officers "may receive additional compensation and expenses as determined by the general president."

E.N.A. B:ING RENEGOTIATED

Now that the district director elections are over in the United Steel Workers union, the industry and the top union brass are starting to renegotiate the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement. It was first signed in 1973 by former union president I.W. Abel. It is a monument in class collaboration.

Industry spokespersons say they want to change three things in the ENA. 1) They think the guaranteed 3% a year wage hike is too high. 2) The cost-of-living allowance is inflationary. 3) There is too much room within the agreement for local issue strikes by individual union locals. They don't want steel workers thinking about strikes, much less conducting any.

Of course the industry wants to keep the part about prohibiting industry-wide strikes. They love that.

The 1974, '77 & '80 basic steel contracts were negotiated under the ENA. Steel workers are not allowed to vote on the contract either.

USWA President Lloyd McBride said about the ENA, "Anybody who thinks the USW is going to make sacrifices out of balance with the sacrifices made by everyone else is wrong."

In the context of the Wall Street Journal article where Dr. McBride is quoted, this sounds a little ominous. According to the big business newspaper, "The USW wouldn't settle for much less than the United Auto Workers get in their contract negotiations in 1982."

With Ford and General Motors demanding what Chrysler got, things do not look good.

IVY LEAGUE FOR MCBRIDE

The June issue of *Steeltor* has a picture and short article under the head, "It's 'Dr.' McBride Now." The union bureaucrat was awarded an honorary doctorate degree from the University of Missouri. The citation included: "Your keen understanding of our free enterprise system and your rational and creative approach to collective bargaining have helped to foster a working rapport between labor and management..." Need we say more?